THE GUINEAS OF WEST VIRGINIA

A Thesis

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for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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Table of Contents

Chapter I

Introduction

Sociologists are becoming increasingly aware that there exists in the United States an "outcast element" the study of which has been neglected. This element is comprised of groups of people who are generally thought to be of tri-racial origin, that is, Negro, Indian and white. The whites tend to relegate these people to the status of Negroes, a status which most of them resent.

To mention but a few of these hybrid groups which have been reported on to date, there are those in parts of Tennessee and Kentucky referred to as "Melungeons"; in North Carolina, "Indians of Robeson County;" in the southern part of Ohio, "Carmel Indians". Dr. Brewton Berry has applied the generic term "mestizos" to the racial hybrids of South Carolina, who are known there by various opprobrious names such as, "Brass Ankles", "Red Legs", "Buckheads", and "Turks". In Delaware the hybrids are known as "Moors" and "Nantichokes"; in Alabama, Louisiana, and parts of Mississippi, "Creoles" and "Cajuns", and in Virginia, "Issues".*

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* For a more complete list of these groups see: Gilbert, W.H. Jr, "Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States", Social Forces, v. 24, #4, May, 1946, pp. 438-447.

The writer's interest in the racial hybrid grew out of a general interest in race relations per se, and a firm conviction that only as these various, often socially and geographically isolated, groups are investigated and reported upon will the sociologist be in a position validly to generalize about them.

The purpose of this study was to observe and describe one of these groups, thereby contributing to the knowledge of racial hybrids which is being amassed. The group chosen for this purpose resides in the state of West Virginia, more specifically in the northeastern part of this state in Barbour and Taylor counties.

The people who constitute this group are generally considered by the white population as being a mixture of white, Negro, and Indian ancestry. Locally, they are referred to as "Guineas", or "Guinea niggers", both terms being of a derogatory nature. Although the Guineas are for the most part very white in appearance, as will be noted in a later chapter devoted to a description of their physical characteristics, the whites in the area resist accepting them as social equals largely on the basis that "one drop of Negro blood makes a Negro". In spite of a substantial number of whites acknowledging "Indian blood", and many more, not being quite certain as to what racial strains have gone into the make-up of these people, it seems to mat-

ter very little, for as one white informant summed it up: "That one drop of nigger blood never washes away!" The Guineas then, are referred to as "colored people" in the areas where they reside and by virtue of this classification are subject to differential treatment by white society.

This particular group of people was chosen for study because: (1) they were conveniently located to the writer's home; (2) the writer is a resident of the state in which they are located, and therefore it was felt that rapport could be more easily attained; and (3) only a modicum of information concerning these people is to be found in the literature.

It must be pointed out from the very beginning that the primary object of going out into the field was to observe these people in their real life situation with a view toward describing that situation.

Lack of time and finances acted as definite limiting factors to the scope and comprehensiveness of the field work and largely contributed to limiting this study to a descriptive level. It is hoped, however, that a more extensive and comprehensive piece of work, free from such limitations, will soon be forthcoming. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the foregoing limitations, especially lack of finances, restricted most of the data gathered to

Barbour County, even though many Guineas are to be found scattered throughout the southern part of Taylor County. To defray the expenses of the writer it was necessary for him to procure employment, and a position which permitted freedom of movement during daylight hours was found in Philippi, the county seat of Barbour County thereby making this community a convenient center of operation. It was felt by the writer that the latter limitation was not as much a hindrance to the study as it may at first appear because: first, there seem to be more Guineas, or at least more people who are defined by the local populace as "Guineas", residing in Barbour than in Taylor County; and second, they are more concentrated within specific areas in Barbour County. Since several trips were made into Taylor County, some data which were gathered there pertaining to the Guineas has been utilized within the text. However, wherever any of these data appear, specific reference to Taylor County has been made.

It will be noted by the reader that the terms "white" and "Guinea" appear throughout the text. The writer uses the term "Guinea" as a means of identifying the people who are the subject of this paper, but does not wish to convey the derogatory connotations generally associated with this term. In some cases the term "hybrid" is used interchangeably with Guinea. The term white applies to all of those people who are not considered either Negro

or Guinea.

The methodology utilized in this study is explained in the following chapter.

Chapter II

Methodology

This section will deal with the method by which the subject group was studied.

In considering the methods of establishing contact with the group under observation even those methods of contact which were discarded as fruitless by the writer will be described. The reasons why these methods were discarded are also treated in this section in the hope that the information might prove useful to those who attempt field work of this nature in the future. That is, some of them discarded by the writer might prove quite fruitful if utilized under different conditions: while on the other hand, they might suggest pitfalls to be avoided in studies of very similar situations. Last, documentary material used in this study is described.

The method utilized in observing the group referred to as the Guineas consisted of field observation of the non-controlled and non-participant variety. Essentially, it was an attempt to "...resort to careful scrutiny of ...(a)..real life situation making no attempt to use instruments of precision."[1]

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1. Young, Pauline V., Scientific Social Surveys and Research, Second Edition, New York,: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1950, p. 204.

The writer was fully aware of the pitfalls involved in this type of field work, such as the danger of ".... feeling that we know more than we actually do about what we have seen", and dealing with data which "...are so real that we sometimes tend to mistake the strength of our emotions for extensiveness of knowledge."[2] However, it was felt that such awareness aided him in avoiding such limitations to accurate observation.

Before actually setting out to do field observation, the writer sought all available material which had been written about the Guineas. Two brief descriptive articles which appeared in contemporary journals were read at the very outset of the study.

A visit was then made to the State Archives and Historical Library in Charleston, West Virginia. Aided by the State Archivist, who had formerly taught school in Philippi, all books and articles which pertained to that section of the state were checked for information or even mention of the hybrids who resided there.

Nothing could be found about the Guineas with the exception of their merely being mentioned in one history book about Barbour County, and one short magazine article which consisted of the observations of these people by a student who had attended Alderson Broaddus College at Philippi during the 1920's.

Even though the library research yielded little pertin-

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2. Ibid.

ent information, the writer's efforts did not go completely unrewarded. In the process of scanning the material, enough of the history of the section was learned to permit the writer to discuss it, at least partially, with various citizens of Barbour County and members of the County Historical Society, who later were to lend the writer valuable assistance in the field. Also, the State Archivist became interested in the study and not only sketched a word picture of the town and what to expect when the writer arrived there, but suggested a number of personal contacts both in Charleston and Philippi.

The next step consisted of establishing contact with as many people as were known in Charleston who had formerly resided in or around the area where the study was to take place. This was done in order better to facilitate a sort of "preview" of the general social situation which existed in the community. In other words, it was felt that it would be to the writer's advantage to have more or less an idea of "what to expect" in terms of social relations among the white citizenry, as well as the relations existing between the Guineas and the whites.

Although not entirely reliable, it was felt that the information which these contacts afforded facilitated a smoother adjustment to the life of the community. Moreover, each contact made in Charleston suggested the names of townspeople in Philippi whom the writer could interview for

"....more accurate information." Several Guinea contacts were also suggested.

The first few days in Philippi were spent making contact with as many of the persons suggested by the Charlestonians as possible. Generally the mere mention of the Charleston citizen's name during the course of introduction was sufficient to be accepted by the informant in Philippi. For the most part, the Philippi contacts would, in turn, suggest other valuable contacts and in many instances persons met in this manner actually took the time to arrange introductions. Consequently, the writer had the opportunity to make contact with such "informed citizens" as the prosecuting attorney, judge, newspaper editors, superintendents of schools, doctors, lawyers, members of the county historical society, social workers, executives, county agent, circuit clerk, county clerk, professor, police officials, selective service officials, prominent farmers and many others.

The true nature of the writer's presence in the community was revealed only to those individuals who were interviewed specifically for information concerning the Guineas. This cloak of "secrecy" was felt to serve several useful purposes. Often in a small community the size of Philippi, it is characteristic of the townspeople to regard the stranger with a certain amount of suspicion and sometimes even contempt. To be engaged in the study of human relations

often appears all the more strange or suspicious. As Pauline Young has pointed out in her book, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, many people "...do not easily comprehend a study of human nature or behavior for its own sake....", and in many cases consider it "...not only incomprehensible but distasteful."[3] In order that the writer might be accepted as just another citizen, the first few weeks were spent just being "seen" around town and getting better acquainted with the townspeople.

To be all the more convincing in justifying his presence in the community and by the same token help defray expenses, the writer procured a job in a tavern-restaurant as bartender. This proved to be a most effective means of gaining acceptance. Within a matter of days the writer found himself fairly well accepted by a majority of the townspeople and on a "first name" basis with most of them.

The role of bartender, in turn, proved advantageous to the study in several respects. It allowed for close contact with a cross-section of the townspeople, thus providing an excellent opportunity to carry on informal interviews during the course of ordinary conversation.

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3. Ibid., p. 206.

Moreover, since most of the informants were unaware that the writer was engaged in a study it was felt that a more natural, unstructured response was given to the interrogation, which was generally passed off as mere curiosity on the part of the writer.

Then too, the job required that the writer work only in the evenings, which allowed for freedom of movement during the day. Much of this time was utilized in making more formal contacts, while the remainder of it was spent in informal conversation with barbers, merchants, clerks, "loafers", druggists, housewives, policemen, or whoever happened to be encountered on the streets or in the stores.

The role of one completely ignorant of the "Guinea situation" was strictly maintained throughout these conversations. On this basis, the questioning seemed justifiable as mere curiosity. For example, the writer would enter restaurants or pool halls, where "white trade only" signs were displayed. After the order had been placed, attempts were made to strike up conversations with the waitresses or managers. This was most generally done by remarking, "Are there very many Negroes around this town? I sure have noticed a lot of those 'white trade only' signs around here."

For the most part the response would be: "No, those signs are for the colored people out on the ridge." They would then explain what they knew about the Guineas and

how they felt about them.

A special effort was made by the writer to be at or near the county courthouse every Saturday morning. Saturday is an eventful day in a small town such as Philippi; the day when most folks come to town to make their necessary purchases. However, just making purchases does not make it an eventful day; rather, it is the day when friends gather in little knots around the courthouse square to discuss work at the mines, crops, politics or just to "visit".

It was not too difficult a task to engage these people in conversation which usually ran a gamut from weather and baseball to the inevitable remark about the "people out on the ridge."

The primary purpose of contacting the white townspeople was to elicit from them as much information as possible about the hybrids who lived in the surrounding hills. Also, general habits or characteristics of the Guineas were sought preliminary to actually going out among them. This was a precautionary measure since lack of adequate knowledge of the Guineas' "way of life" might have resulted in their resenting the presence of the writer among them. Such resentment might well have meant forfeiting the purpose of the whole study.

However, many of the "characteristics" of the Guineas as told by whites had all the earmarks of exaggeration,

fable, and sheer myth or legend. If many of the tales had been taken seriously, the writer would never have dared going among these people without being fully armed.

Making Contact with the Guineas

Desiring a more accurate picture of what the Guineas were really like before going among them, the writer, acting on the suggestion of a white college professor, made contact with several individuals who were teaching in Guinea schools. They were, according to the professor, "colored students" who had attended a denominational college where he had taught English before retirement. His suggestions, while greatly appreciated, created some rather uncomfortable social situations for the writer. Upon contacting the "colored teachers" the writer was amazed to discover that they were in most respects fairer skinned than himself.

This accounted for a measure of overcautiousness in regard to asking them questions about the Guineas. It was felt that such a condition would not yield worthwhile results and so the writer made it a point to concentrate his efforts on the principal of their largest elementary school. This individual made it clear from the very beginning that he was originally from Ohio and considered himself a Negro. He had lived among, and taught school for, the Guineas over a twenty-year period and had married a person considered one of that group.

The suggestions of this teacher were most helpful since his description of Guinea characteristics proved much more accurate than those given by the whites, when the writer actually went out among these people. When this teacher was first contacted, he was busily engaged in 4-H camp work "for the colored people." He was in charge of taking children to camp for their annual outing and so the writer immediately volunteered his services.

At the time almost all of the camp activities had been already planned, with the exception of swimming, which was lacking in the program because of need for a life-guard. Such an opportunity to have face to face contact with some members of the Guinea group, while at the same time being able to be of mutual assistance to the camp leader, prompted the writer to proffer his services as the camp life-guard for the one swimming class called for in the camp program. The offer was accepted and it was felt that a major step toward establishing raport with these people was thus brought about.

Contact with the bulk of the Guineas was still to be made however, and consideration of the various means by which this was accomplished will now be reviewed.

The writer first considered going among these people as the representative of a radio station, the object being to engage them in conversation and observe their home

life while acting as one engaged in taking a "listener's poll." Upon carefully weighing the relative advantages and disadvantages of such a method of contact it became clear that such a sample would be tremendously limited and too select. Only those individuals possessing radios could be contacted and probably would not have been representative of the group.

Next, the writer considered going among the Guineas as a door to door notions salesman. Taking orders rather than direct sales seemed to be the best possible approach in this method, because it afforded the opportunity to return to the home in the event an order was taken. Thus, chances for engaging in conversation were doubled. Moreover, the sample would have been much more representative of the group than one limited by conversing only with those possessing radios. However, it soon became evident that most of these people traveled in to town at least once, and often several times, a week to make purchases. In other words, it seemed a little fruitless to peddle articles which were, for the most part, available to them at any notions counter in the town. Therefore, this method of approaching the Guineas was discarded.

The next attempt to contact was made in the role of Bible salesman. A box of biblical literature printed by the Bible Institute of Chicago was obtained from a local resident for this purpose. A preliminary opinion of such

a means of contact was then requested of the teacher from the Guinea school, who had thus far been very cooperative in lending assistance and advice to the writer. He considered the idea as one worthwhile but warned that a certain amount of antagonism existed between various church factions in the hills.

The very first contact made as a Bible salesman corroborated his informal analysis of the situation. For two and a half hours the writer listened to a lecture on religion accompanied by some very uncomfortable questions about interpretation of the "Word of God." During the course of this "interview" it became obvious from the remarks made that some antagonism not only existed but had in the past manifested itself in physical violence. Several days later it was learned that the interviewee's house had been on one occasion, burned to the ground because of factional differences in this section. Not wishing to become involved in such an area of life where feelings evidently "ran so high", the writer abandoned this approach as one which could easily have stirred up more trouble than it was worth.

It became rather apparent on several other occasions that the role of salesman as a means of contacting the Guineas was far from being the best one. Time and again the writer would approach a house where signs of life had been noticed from afar, he would be met with a chair or a

swing still in motion, but the inhabitants were nowhere to be seen.

When contact was established, all attempts at stimulating conversation seemed fruitless, often yielding nothing more profound or pertinent than, "yep" or "nope". The negativism accorded the writer by the informants might well have had its source in Prohibition. It was reported on several occasions that government revenue officers had participated in several ruses in order to locate the position of moonshine stills. Acting as door to door salesmen had been one such ruse and might possibly have accounted for suspicion of the writer's guise.

On the other hand, selling something to the individual from whom one wishes to acquire information tends to put the informant on the defensive, i.e., he tends to resist sales talk and often considers the salesman a nuisance.

At any rate, the role of salesman seemed to yield little or no information of any value. The problem then, clearly became one of justifying the presence of the writer among the people to be observed.

Farm rehabilitation and various other surveys conducted by New Deal agencies had met with little resistance and so some sort of survey by the writer seemed worth trying. Rather than just attempting any type of survey it appeared that one which was conducted by or for a well

known and respected agency would be more likely to succeed. Consequently, the county agent, Department of Public Assistance, Red Cross, and the Board of Education were visited for this purpose.

The writer volunteered to make a survey for each of these agencies provided that some of the information could be used in this study. At the time, none of them had a need for a survey, but neither the Red Cross nor the Board of Education resisted the idea of a survey being conducted under their "sponsorship".

The matter clearly became one of speculating which type of survey would more nearly justify the writer's presence and at the same time furnish a representative sample to be studied. Since a preliminary check of birth records indicated that a great number of the families had children of school age at home it was decided that some sort of survey pertaining to education would fit the purpose.

A schedule was devised which consisted of very simple questions:

1. Name_____ Race_____

3. Number of children in family_____
4. Number of children attending school_____
5. Where attended_____
6. Church affiliation_____
7. Father's occupation_____

This survey was called an "Educational Survey" and was administered only after a socially proper request was first tendered. It was short, concise, and called for short answers which did not impinge upon the informant's private affairs, and required only a few minutes of his time. It must be pointed out that the information requested by this schedule was for the most part of secondary importance -- the primary purpose being to elicit conversation with the informant.

The name of the family was requested to determine whether or not the informant was a member of the group designated as "Guinea"; the significance of this will become clear to the reader in a later chapter. In addition to the family name the maiden name of the wife was requested as a preliminary check on intra-marriage patterns which existed among these people.

The question of "Race" was asked primarily to ascertain, in so far as was possible, the Guinea's self-conception; that is, what did he consider himself racially, or to what degree did he identify with the "colored" status which the white community had imposed upon him? The term "Nationality" was used interchangeably with "Race" and was resorted to only after some confusion resulted among several of the informants as to what the term "race" meant. They substituted the term "Nationality" themselves.

The reason "Number of children in the family" was requested seems self-evident -- the schedule was concerned with school children.

The "Number of children in school, i.e., of school age, had no direct relation to the study but was the essence of the stated purpose of the survey.

The "Where do they attend school?" question served two purposes. It was ostensibly relevant to the study just as "Number of children in school", and it ascertained whether or not any of the Guinea children attended schools other than those which had been provided for them by the county.

The question of church attendance served to ascertain the variety of church affiliations, predominant church affiliations, and generally made available information as to the location of the physical plant. "Where do you attend church?", was asked in order that the latter could be ascertained.

The occupation of the father was requested in order that an idea of the type of occupational opportunity available to the Guineas might be obtained.

Not only was self-conception somewhat reflected in the survey, but the title "Educational Survey" often elicited the attitudes of the parents toward their separate school system and their children attaining education.

In the role of interviewer the writer maintained as far

as possible, a mode of dress and conversational manner in keeping with the local customs. Two young boys from the group volunteered their assistance and proved most helpful in locating the families which might ordinarily have been missed by the writer. Also, they aided tremendously in establishing rapport for the interviewing situation since both of them either personally knew the informants or were related to them.

A pretense of complete ignorance of the racial and/or social status of the Guineas was maintained at all times and an especial effort was made to spend more time listening than talking. Conversations were not recorded in any way until the interviewer had left the presence of the informant. The notes were written up from memory as soon as possible after having left the persons interviewed.

Documentary Material

Census reports of the city (Philippi), county, and state; records of the county clerk, circuit clerk, selective service records, records of the county board of education, state vital statistics abstracts, and city directories and maps were used wherever and whenever available to the writer. State and county history books, State Biennial reports, reports of the County Historical Society, monographs and magazine articles were checked for any and all available information recorded about the group under study.

Local and regional newspapers were read all during the writer's stay in the community and old newspaper files checked for news concerning the group as far back as possible.

Chapter III

Geographical and Social Setting

This study was made in northeastern West Virginia, in that part of the state which lies within the Allegheny-Cumberland plateau.

The terrain of this area is largely characterized by sharp valleys and steep hills which have been carved by the streams as they wind their way north and westward eventually to empty into the Ohio River. (See map in back folder). Most of the stream beds in this area are so filled with rock that there has been very little cutting of broad, valley lowlands. As a result, many of the valleys which have been cut by these streams are almost V-shaped, leaving the more tillable land to be found high on the table-top-like surrounding ridges.

Many of the ridges are covered with natural grasses that make them rich grazing lands, and along them can be found wide areas of fertile soils which are used for agriculture and some fruit growing. The climate in this particular part of the country is temperate and generally suited to farming wherever the surface is not too hilly. Buried beneath the soil are untold tons of bituminous coal and great amounts of petroleum and natural gas.

The streams in this area are not navigable enough to be of any commercial value in terms of water transportation,

therefore most of the mineral products which are exported are generally shipped via the railroads. Many small trunk lines are to be seen winding through the steep valleys to end at a loading tipple of the larger coal mines in the area. Rail passenger service is furnished by the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad which has one train per day traveling in the morning from Grafton, south through Philippi to Charleston, and back the same evening.

Roads and highways are restricted to two lanes because of the mountainous character of the area. Primary roads are asphalt and are kept in a good state of repair the year round. Secondary roads, which in the past were passable only in fair weather, have been improved, or are in the process of being improved, to the point where formerly inaccessible areas are now more easily reached. Some have been recently surfaced, but extend for only a few miles before graveled roads are again in evidence. These roads are passable most of the year but all side-roads extending from them to various ridges, where many Guineas reside, seem little more than wagon-trails. Some of the latter traverse territory so rough and grown over with underbrush that travel by automobile is next to impossible.

The natural setting inhabited by Guineas, then, has all the earmarks of one which probably afforded them a great deal of isolation in past years. However, much of this i-

solation has been greatly reduced in recent years by improved transportation.

Let us now turn to a consideration of the social setting of the area inhabited by the Guineas.

The total population of West Virginia on April 1, 1950, was 2,005,552, according to advanced reports released by the Bureau of Census.[4] This state always had a preponderance of its population living in rural territory, and according to the foregoing reports, sixty percent of the total population are today classified as "rural" with both Barbour and Taylor counties considered as rural counties.

Turning to the specific area in which this study was centered we find that the total population of Barbour County in 1950 was reported as 19,745. The breakdown of these total figures into "white" and "colored" has not yet been released but in 1940, six percent of the inhabitants of that county were reported as "colored". The 1950 figures show Taylor County to have a total population of 18,422, but once again we must rely upon the 1940 reports for a breakdown of the races. The latter reports reveal quite a different picture for Taylor County from what we find in Barbour, for only two percent of the total population for this county were reported as "colored" in that year.

Since the Guineas are considered "colored" by a great

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4. 1950 Census of Population -- Advance Reports, Series PC-8: #47, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. Released April 23, 1951.

majority of the white population in these counties, we might expect the breakdown of population into racial categories to be of assistance in determining the number of Guineas who reside there; but close examination of the procedure utilized by census takers in recording the race of individuals indicates that the accuracy of their reports is questionable. Upon interviewing several of these workers who had participated in taking the census in the area, it was learned that there existed a complete lack of uniformity in recording the racial status of the Guineas. Some of the census takers had reported the Guineas in their districts as "Colored" without actually bothering to request the race of the respondant. Others recorded whatever the individual reported as his race; one worker recorded them as both "white" and "colored", justifying this action on the basis that, "They are both, so that's how I put 'em down."

Another complicating factor lies in the fact that there is no way of ascertaining how many Negroes, as distinguished from Guineas, were reported in these figures since the census classification "colored" could include both. It is highly probable that a goodly number of the colored reported in this census are Guineas. This is especially true for Barbour county where very few persons possessing Negroid physical characteristics were ever observed by the writer either in the towns or out among the hills.

The communities of these counties are small. There are only two towns of any size in Barbour County: Belington (pop. 1,699), and Philippi (pop. 2,531)[5] The other towns are mostly unincorporated villages which have the appearance of having once been thriving mining towns. Philippi, the county seat, is located in the Tygarts River valley. Since no major industries are located there, it functions mostly as a trading center for the surrounding area. Its business houses, department and hardware stores, restaurants, two moving-picture theatres, barber shops, and drug stores line both sides of the one main street, serving the farmers and miners who crowd into town on Saturdays. On the edge of town there is a small denominational college, Alderson Broaddus. Lining the well-shaded side streets are neat-appearing homes with well-kept lawns. Noticeably absent are houses which may be considered dilapidated or ill kept.

The mode of life is primary-group oriented and slow of pace. Much of the social life is carried on by means of church groups, farming organizations, local lodges, and closely-knit family groups. Although an extremely hospitable and friendly atmosphere seemed to prevail in Philippi, the stranger in town soon finds himself subjected to probing questions. These questions often appear to an urbanite as being of a personal nature, directed in such a forth-

5. Ibid.

right manner as to appear that the respondant must justify his being there. Soon one realizes that practically everyone in town, regardless of socio-economic status, honor or prestige, is seldom referred to by any other than his first name; and that the stranger is merely a curiousity.

The population of Philippi proper is all white, and is largely constituted of older citizens who have retired from either farming or mining, county officials, students and faculty of Alderson Broaddus, and those who are engaged in business. The remainder are engaged in the nearby mining industry and some few operate farms outside the city limits. Many of the younger citizens show a tendency to migrate to larger cities or industrial areas, because of a general "lack of opportunity" there. Despite the fact that Philippi is in close proximity to the coal-mining industry, which relies heavily upon foreign-born labor, very few of these people are found residing within the town. As for church affiliation, the population is preponderantly Protestant: Methodist, Episcopal, United Bretheren and Baptist.

Living along the many ridges surrounding Philippi are the Guineas. Although the Guineas may be found in almost any direction from Philippi, the heaviest concentration of them is to be found on Chestnut Ridge, a section slightly northeast of the town proper. This ridge extends from an

old coal camp at Meriden, about three miles from Philippi, sloping up from the sharper ridges to the more level rolling hills of a settlement called "Croston" (see map). To the south of Philippi many Guineas live in settlements bearing such names as Flatwoods, Miner's Hollow, and Hanging Rock. South of town the Guineas are more sparsely settled, that is, most of the Guineas seem to be concentrated just north of Philippi, scattering out through the various ridges in a sixteen mile area to the southern environs of Grafton.

In Taylor County the largest community is Grafton, a rail center, trading area, and county seat. Although larger than Philippi in both area and population (7,365)[6], the mode of life which prevails there is very much the same, except possibly that it is not primary-group orientated to the same degree. As is the case in Philippi, Guineas do not live in the town proper, but are located south of the corporation limits in an area referred to as "West Hill". It was soon discovered that this section is rather nebulously defined; in fact, it seemed to include the whole section east of the B & O railroad and south to the boundary line of Barbour County, an area of approximately

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6. Ibid.

eight square miles. (See map)

By virtue of living in territory which is so mountainous, most of the Guineas have been limited to farming on a sub-marginal basis. A typical "farm" along the hillsides generally consists of little more than a small two-or three-room house, one or two out-buildings, a few chickens and possibly a hog, and a small plot of corn interspersed with bean vines. Some of the Guineas have taken advantage of the forested areas on their land and are engaged in cutting "mine timbers" which they sell to nearby coal mines. Others are occupied as miners in some of these mines.

Inasmuch as the Guineas are considered to be colored it seems of especial significance that the general patterns of race relations existing in West Virginia be reviewed. This state has been variously defined as the most southern of the northern states, and the most northern of the southern states, largely depending upon the criteria utilized. In their major census divisions of the country the Bureau of Census labels West Virginia as a Southern state. It also meets the requirements of a southern state by virtue of its being located south of the Mason-Dixon Line; by its laws prohibiting racial inter-marriage, its school segregation laws and the legal enforcement of school segregation.[7]

7. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, p. 1072.

Despite the apparent difficulty involved in establishing whether or not West Virginia is a southern state the important point to be taken here is that it seems to have retained a definite flavor of Southern custom regarding Negro-white relations. The school system is biracial, churches, recreational activities, and restaurants are segregated, and there are no general civil rights laws such as are found in parts of the North.

In summarizing, it has been noted that the natural setting of the area inhabited by the Guineas is mountainous, a characteristic which probably afforded them a great deal of isolation in past years.

The social setting of this area reveals that they are settled along the ridges in a sparsely populated area in which the general patterns of life are characteristically rural, and similar in most respects to the social setting of the South as regards patterns of race relations.

Chapter IV

History and Origin

The exact origin and past history of the "Guineas" is somewhat vague. Moreover, as is the case with other similar groups, there are numerous stories circulated by the local people of the area, which are told in most cases as fact.

These stories which account for the origin of the Guineas are for the most part extremely interesting and colorful but almost totally lacking in valid documentation. However, these legendary accounts should not be dismissed as worthless because they often reflect the attitudes and beliefs of the dominant society toward the minority group and vice-versa. Legend does not spring spontaneously from the minds of individuals; rather, its basis may be a rationalization of attitudes which, when passed on through succeeding generations may tend to structure the whole pattern of behaviour between the groups in contact.

Let us review, then, a few of these accounts of the history and origin of the Guineas as reported to the writer by both whites and Guineas in the area.

One member of the local County Historical Society, who

seems to have done more extensive historical research on the Guineas than anyone else in Barbour County, theorizes that they are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony. Briefly, tradition has it that in 1590, when aid was brought to these English settlers, nothing was to be found of the community which they had first established. On a tree, the word "Croatoan" was found marked and was interpreted to mean that the settlers had sought protection among the Croatoan Indians in that area. Subsequent admixture of these settlers with the Croatoans, and some Negro elements, according to this account, resulted in quite a large group of racial hybrids in the Carolinas.

As this area became more thickly populated with whites, these hybrids were driven further back into the mainland. During this process of slow, deliberate migration, some of them moved northward, consequently settling in the relative isolation of the hill country where they are to be found today.

Another "theory" accounts for the Guineas as the descendants of Italian laborers, who were imported into the area to work on the railroads just after the Civil War. This theory has it that these migratory workers were accorded low social status by the permanent settlers in the area of Barbour County, "-who refused to have anything to do with them." As a result of this treatment, the Italians

sought the company of the Negroes and mulattoes in the area who were also accorded low social status. The miscegenation which followed allegedly accounts for "...the dark, swarthy appearance of some of the Guineas today, who resemble southern Italians."

Others account for the Guineas as being the off-spring of Mexican migratory workers and mulattoes, while still others account for them as having come originally from Spanish Guinea to South Carolina and thence north to the hills of West Virginia.

There are also "theories" that they originally came from the British, French, and Dutch Guianas. One legend, stated as "fact", had their origin in New Guinea, but no explanation for their presence in West Virginia was proffered. They have also been accounted for as having come to West Virginia from Newman Ridge in Tennessee, where they are known as "Melungeons".

Not a few of the local informants stated that the Guineas originated as an "outcast element" of "...lower class whites and lower class niggers who mixed." According to these accounts, "low moral standards of both groups produced half-breeds who had equally low or lower moral standards, resulting in much sexual promiscuity." These informants have a colloquial saying with which they dismiss the hybrid nature of the Guineas. In effect it goes: "How can you attribute any one scratch to any one thorn when

you've been run through a brier patch?"

A search into history books, magazine articles and newspapers in West Virginia reveals only a paucity of accurate, well documented material regarding the origin or history of the Guineas.

In Hu Maxwell's, The History of Barbour County, West Virginia, only brief mention of them is made:

> "There is a class of partly colored people in Barbour County often called 'Guineas", under the erroneous assumption that they are Guinea Negroes.... They vary in color from white to black, often have blue eyes and straight hair, and they are generally estimated at one thousand. They have been a puzzle to the investigator; for their origin was not generally known. They were among the earliest settlers of Barbour....."[8]

In 1929 an article appeared in the West Virginia Review, titled, "West Virginia's So Called 'Guineas'", by Catherine J. Patton. This article was short and consisted largely of observations made of these people while the author was attending Alderson Broaddus College in Philippi. No light was shed on the origin of these people in this article, but the author did speculate on a reason for their having settled in that area. The reason advanced was that the Guineas settled there ".....probably to escape persecu-

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8. Maxwell, Hu, The History of Barbour County West Virginia, Morgantown, West Virginia: Acme Publishing Co., 1899, pp. 310-311.

tion, religious and legal."[9]

Although the evidence presented thus far makes the origin and past of the group seem quite obscure, the writer did discover that the background of one family seems to have been investigated a little more in detail and, thus, is better accounted for than the others. This family, which today seems to constitute a large number of the group called Guineas, is known by the name, "Male". There are variations in the spelling of this name such as: Mayle, Mayles, Maylee, Maley, Mail and Mahle, but they are all considered by townspeople as derivations from "Male".

In Maxwell's book, the following is noted:

> "Professor W. W. Male of Grafton, West Virginia, belongs to this clan, and after investigation says: 'They originated from an Englishman named Male who came to America at the outbreak of the Revolution. From that one man have sprung about 700 of the same name, not to speak of the half-breeds.' Thus, it would seem that the family was only half-black at the beginning and by the intermixture since many are now almost white....."[10]

This observation which was made around the turn of the Twentieth Century, may very well have some merit. Investi-

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9. Patton, Catherine J., "West Virginia's So Called Guineas", West Virginia Review, April, 1929, p. 36.
10. Maxwell, Hu, Op. cit., pp. 310-311.

gation by J. C. Saunders, a news historian, in 1941 revealed the following account of this family which appeared as a historical feature in a newspaper in Keyser, West Virginia: It seems that one of the earliest families to settle in old Frederick County, Virginia, previous to the formation of Hampshire County, Virginia, was a family by the name of Calmes. A Frenchman, Marqui Calmes, migrated to the island of Haiti prior to 1730, then settled in Virginia, "...bringing with him from the French colony on that island several slaves whether of mixed blood or native islanders we do not know, but at any rate they were slaves of Calmes." No sooner had Calmes settled on his new plantation when a Cherokee Indian from the Carolinas arrived there. This Indian presumably fell in love with one of Calmes' slave girls and they eloped.

A child born of this union was known as Priscilla Harris, "....but called by the plantation folk, 'Nancy'." This girl who made her home on the Calmes plantation, was described by her descendants as, "...the most beautiful girl of the Shenandoah with black eyes, olive complexion, and long black hair."

This historical account goes on to state that: "About the middle of the 1700's an Englishman named Wilmore Male, a brickmaker by trade, settled in Hampshire County, fell in love with Priscilla and married her. They raised a

family and some of their descendants still live in the Allegheny region of eastern West Virginia and Maryland."[11]

According to this article, the following item can be found today in the records of the county courthouse at Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia:

> "Be it known to all to whom it may concern that I, Wilmore Male, of the County of Virginia do by these presents liberate, emancipate and forever set free from after this date of my death my Negro woman Nancy on condition that she remain with me during my natural life in the quality of my wife.
> In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 6th day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six."
>
> (signed) William Male
> (His mark)[12]

William H. Gilbert, Jr., reports that an investigation by James Mooney in 1889 revealed that mixed Indian-white families bearing the name of Male or Mail were to be found in Garrett County, Maryland.[13]

Further authenticity of the above accounts of the Male family are revealed upon investigation of early census re-

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11. Saunders, J. C., "Saunders Reveals Interesting Story In Freeing of Slave Near Here Years Ago", Mineral Daily News-Tribune, Keyser, West Virginia, Thursday, March 27, 1941.
12. Ibid.
13. Gilbert, William H., Jr., "Mixed Bloods of the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia", Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 36, #1, Jan. 15, 1946, p. 438.

ports. The name "Male", "Mail" and "Mayle" can be noted appearing in the reports of several counties in old Virginia. According to the first census of 1790, a Wilmore Male, Sr., probably the one mentioned above, was living in Hampshire County, in what was then Virginia.[14] (West Virginia did not become a state until 1863.) Also listed in the same report was a Wilmer Male, and another Wilmore Male, more than likely the son of the above mentioned. The three families had a total of twenty-three members enumerated under the classification of "White Souls".

In Chesterfield County, the Joseph Mail family of ten members was reported, while in Norfolk County the family of Lydia Mayle was enumerated at six "White Souls".

In the Fifth Census of 1830 the records show that the two Wilmore Males were still living in Hampshire County. A "Jr-Sr" distinction was not noted on the records. One family consisted of just man and wife, both enumerated under the classification, "Free Colored". The other consisted of eleven "Free Colored" persons and one white female between thirty and forty years of age.

A check of Revolutionary War pension records reveals that a Wilmore Male, age 84, was living in Hampshire County

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14. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790; Records of the State Enumeration: 1782 to 1785; Virginia., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908.

in 1840.[15] This Wilmore Male was recorded as "Colored". A William Mail can also be found listed among the names of Revolutionary War veterans who were inscribed on the pension list of 1818. He was not, however, designated as "Colored".

In the U. S. Census of 1850, the name Male appears twelve times in the enumeration for the Barbour area, each of them classified in the report as "mulatto". Time and again the older citizens of the town reported that the Guineas had their origin in Hampshire County. Thus, it would appear from these reports and the foregoing data that in all probability the Males had their origin in and/or around Hampshire County, Virginia, and migrated westward early in the 1800's to their present location in Barbour and Taylor counties.

Accounts of the origin and history of other families which constitute the group called Guineas are not so thoroughly documented as those of the Males.

A Gustavus Croston appears on the Revolutionary War pension record of 1818 as residing in Hampshire County, Virginia. This person was not designated as "Colored" and does not appear in the Virginia Census enumeration for

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15. Lewis, Virgil A., Third Biennial Report of the Department of Archives of the State of West Virginia, Charleston: The News-Mail Co., 1911, p. 106.

the year 1790.[16]

In the Fifth Census of 1830, the name John Croston appears in the Hampshire County enumeration as "Free Colored" and the family of a James Croston, which was also listed, consisted of two white females between the ages of fifteen and twenty years and five males and one female, "Free Colored". Two more Croston families are listed in the 1850 Census as "Mulatto".

County records reveal that these people have been traditionally considered to be "colored", although cases do appear in which they have been recorded as "whites". Of the 437 names common to the Guineas which appear in the Barbour County Death Records from 1854 to 1951, 401 were registered as "Colored". Birth records for the same period reveal a total of 1,407 births registered for these people. Of this number, 1,159 are registered as "Colored" and 248 as "White".

Evidence of some confusion in registering the Guineas was noticed throughout the record books. Race and color classification ranged from "black" to "white" including such classifications as "Mulatto", "Colored", "dark", "Negro", "American Guinea", "African", "Black English", "Red", and "Red African". Some of the records had been

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16. Ibid., p. 75.

"revised"; e.g., some names had been marked over, race classification had been marked both "black"and "white", some displayed evidence of having been changed from "Colored" to "White" and vice-versa. Some years, "Race" was just left blank.

The older death records tend further to reinforce the contention that the majority of Guineas had their origin in Hampshire County. This county was often listed as either the birthplace of the deceased, or the birth-place of the parents, which were often entered in the records.

Now that the legends, myths, and stories of the white society, along with county records, census reports, and what written historical data are available has been considered, we might turn to what the Guineas themselves know or think about their past background or origin.

The Guineas themselves seem to display little concern with their past history or origin. Whenever the writer was in a position to broach the subject of family background, the greater majority of Guinea informants displayed a lack of knowledge or interest in the matter.

However, many white informants who had lived in the area all their lives and had been in contact with these people over a period of years, reported that some of the "older Guineas" had made reference to their background at one time or another. Some of the "Males", for ex-

ample, had made reference to their background by stating that they were "descended from an Englishman." Some of the Crostons, who likewise referred to their family history, claimed to be descended from a "Dutchman." This was verified by a Negro school teacher who had been well acquainted with a majority of the Guineas over a period of twenty years.

The County Agent and several others having quite a bit of contact with the Guineas claimed that many of these people with whom they worked asserted that "Indian blood ran in their veins." The writer also heard several Guineas speak of Indian ancestry but found only one family which not only laid claim to "Indian blood" but emphasized their Indian background. This was the Norris family.

During casual conversation with the writer, two brothers in this family asserted that when they were children they were often told that they had "...Indian blood in "em." One brother exhibited little concern one way or another about his Indian descent by merely shrugging his shoulders and dismissing it with, "I reckon it's so because I was always told I was part Indian".

The other, however, positively asserted that they were of Indian descent. He maintained that one of his relatives was called "Purty Hair" (Pretty Hair), an Indian woman who possessed "long, beautiful, flowing black

hair". This individual then pointed out his sister, who likewise had very long hair, and other members of his immediate family, and remarked on their resemblance to Indians.

A relative of these brothers, according to various white informants, relates a story of an Indian massacre of soldiers near Philippi while they were on their way to the early Indian wars in Ohio. This member of the family has, on occasion, attributed this massacre to his "relations".

In Taylor County, another Norris, an uncle to these brothers, stated to the writer that he was "three-quarters Indian -- Delaware Indian". Over the gate to his hillside farm was a crudely pointed sigh which stated:

> "By Birth There Is No Strangers Or Forners or Discrimination Among The Human Race -- But By Nature We Make Ourselves A Stranger A Forner and a Discriminatore Against Our Own Princable."

(sic) After quite a lengthy conversation about everything from honey bees to religion, the writer commented on the sign and its meaning. Quite cautiously, the subject of "Negro discrimination in the South" was injected into the discussion by the writer. This individual reacted by assuring the writer that such discrimination had a definite basis in "The Curse of Canon". There was absolutely no identification whatever with the Negro by this person.

Furthermore, the Norris' do not seem to be considered Guineas at all in Taylor County, even though their relatives are considered as such in Barbour County, only sixteen miles away. One of the county officials in Taylor County related that the Norris' lived in a "Guinea section" but were really "Indians".

This family has its own cemetery in Barbour County on their own property. It is located about two and a half miles from Philippi, situated among a clump of trees half way up the side of a mountain. Most of the graves are marked with native stone which have no inscriptions upon them. One old grave, however, had been marked with the following inscription:

> "Sam Norris -- B -- 1750 D -- 1844
> Sam Norris, the Forefather of the
> Norris Race
> Borned at Morgontown 1750 His Father
> Sam And Indian His Mother Betsie A
> English Woman Come to Hacker Creek
> Seventeen Sixty Four Married Pretty Hair
> Deloware Indian.....
> ....Died In the Road At The Welch
> Cemotary At Four O'clock in Morning
> Eighteen Forty Four "

This inscription had been typed on a piece of paper, inserted into a chiseled out portion of the headstone, and sealed over with glass within recent years. It would seem that this particular family exerted especial effort to have themselves identified as Indians. Members of the family seemed proud to relate to the writer that they had

"proof" of Indian ancestry in an old family Bible. They even offered to exhibit this Bible, but, as it happened, no one member of the family was sure as to where it could be located.

In this same cemetery the graves of some of the Collins family are also to be found. Although the people bearing this name, for the most part, seemed indifferent to their history, a headstone similar to the one just described is located in one corner of the older section of the "Norris Cemetery". It tells of a: "Marry Collins Borned Bout 1800....". After giving a list of brothers and sisters who survived the deceased, the inscription goes on to say: "There Mother was a Gaul Borned Cheat River...." Soon after visiting this cemetery the writer was informed by a local historian that the "Gauls" were an old and prominent white family who had once lived in that area.

Although the name "Collins" is a fairly common English name, it is interesting to note that it appears in two other racial hybrid groups which have been reported on to date. Gilbert, who haw gathered information about several of these groups, lists the name "Collins" as being a Creole as well as a "Melungeon" name.[17]

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17. Gilbert, William H., Jr., "Memorandum Concerning the Characteristics of the Larger Mixed-Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States", Social Forces, V. 24, #4, pp. 438-447.

Most of the families, who alluded to white ancestry and/or Indian ancestry, seldom if ever mentioned the term "Negro" when relating their background or family history. Some did however, mention "colored", hastily adding that such a mixture occurred so far back in the past that it was no longer evident. For example, one woman who appeared white in every respect, maintained that she was "a colored person", stating, "It were did during the Civil War". She claimed that "colored blood had entered the family line during the confusion which resulted from the war". Pointing to her son, who had light brown hair and fair skin as proof, she went on to imply that there had been no intermixture with the "colored" since that time.

Another tall and very fair skinned Guinea, who had served in the Army in World War II as a white soldier, acknowledged to the writer that he had, "colored and Indian blood", but quickly added: "You can go to the courthouse and you'll never find on record that any of us was ever a slave".

There were those Guineas, on the other hand, who asserted that their origin was white and that all their forebears had been white. These people were a definite minority among the Guineas and seldom did they account for their origin in terms of the group; rather, they seemed more concerned with establishing their own particular

origin. For example, one woman, who appeared even darker in complexion than many of the Guineas who acknowledged a hybrid background, asserted that she was prepared to show the writer affidavits, if he so desired to see them, proving that she and her children were white. She reported: "My grandmother and mother were just as white as any woman you'll ever see -- all my people are white folks."

The origin of the term "Guinea" is even much less accounted for than are the people who are called by that name. When the local white people were queried about its origin, the majority of them would reply: "...don't have the faintest notion about the term". They would generally go on to state that the term had always been used to denote "those people out on the ridge" and they had heard it all their lives. Even the older citizens of the area contended that they had grown up using the term without ever questioning its origin.

The individuals who did attempt to account for it were usually those who believed that these people had originated in one of the Guianas and that the term had stayed with them. Since Italians or people of Italian descent are often referred to as "Guineas", some townspeople believed that the name had endured the years when they presumably intermixed with the Italian railroad workers right after the Civil War.

Gilbert claims that: "...the word 'Guinea' is said to be ..(an)..epithet applied to anything foreign or unknown",[18] (which seems to be in keeping with their rather obscure past). Inasmuch as very little has been written about the Guineas in history books, it is difficult to ascertain just how long this term has designated them. The origin of the word itself is not of too great importance sociologically, except that it is a resented epithet which differentiates these people from the larger white society and the Negro.

While searching through some books to discover what had been written about these people, the writer did discover what might be the possible origin of the word which designates these people.

In the book, Samuel Woods and His Family, by Ruth Woods Dayton, the following was noted:

> "After the battle (Civil War) feeling ran high in Philippi and Grandmother was advised by friends that it would not be safe for her to remain there. She was finally persuaded to take her six children and go down the Tygart River, about three miles below town, to a farm which Grandfather owned in the vicinity of the present village of Meriden, the locality being then, and later, called 'Guinea'"[19]

This book was largely a collection of letters written

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18. Gilbert, W. H., Op. cit., p. 439.
19. Dayton, Ruth W., Samuel Woods and His Family, Privately Published, 1939, pp. 5-6.

during the Civil War by Mrs. Samuel Woods to her husband who was an officer in the Confederate Army. Her letters were always headed, "Guinea" -- and the date.

By way of summary, the information presented in this chapter clearly demonstrates the lack of unity which prevails, not only among members of the white society, but among the Guineas as well, in relation to the past history and origin of this group.

Verifiable evidence that these people are descended from the Lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh is still wanting. Thus far, historical research on the Lost Colony reveals that people with surnames such as: Berry, Florrie, White, Bailey, Brooke, Dare, Cooper, Stevens, Simpson, Harvie, Howe, Johnson, Cage, Jones, Willis, Taylor and Butler were known to be colonists, but none of these names, or variations, are to be found among the Guineas.[20]

As for their origin being brought about through miscegenation between Negroes and Italian laborers, this seems quite unlikely. Even if Italian rail workers did work in the area, they did not do so until after the Civil War and all available records indicate that the Guineas were in this area long before that time.

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20. Baxter, James P., "Raleigh's Lost Colony", New England Magazine, V. II(NS), 1895, p. 586.

The other "theories" widely held in the area by both whites and Guineas are likewise wanting for authentic documentation.

What historical evidence is available, including local records, tends to indicate that these people are of a mixed racial origin or background, and came westward to this area from Hampshire County around the turn of the Nineteenth Century. However, the predominance of characteristically white features among them might lead us to speculate that, if they are of mixed racial origin as many believe, interbreeding with elements other than white have been, by and large, at a minimum.

About all that can be conclusively stated about the background of the Guineas is that it is quite obscure.

It is felt by the writer, however, that such a conclusion should not of necessity categorically eliminate a consideration of the legends which prevail among the surrounding white society, and those held to by the Guineas. These legends have their utility in that they often serve as a very real basis for the patterns of social relations and social differentiation which exist in the area.

Chapter V

Who Is A Guinea ?

This chapter will be concerned with a problem which seems almost basic to the study of the group which was observed. This problem might best be examined by posing it in the form of a question, and then attempting to answer it by presenting the data collected in the area in which the group is located.

The question is: How do members of the dominant society go about defining a Guinea? What criteria are utilized to distinguish the Guinea from any other members of the society of the area?

Differences in physical features, which are easily ascertainable, have traditionally served as criteria for identifying racial groups; in fact, physical characteristics are one of the criteria upon which the caste-like system of race relations in the United States has been based. E. B. Reuter, in his study of race mixture, emphasizes the point that the "distinctive physical features" of the hybrid offspring of racial crosses make for their being "...marked men", that their "...biological marks of origin are the basis for differential treat-

ment."[21] Inasmuch as the Guineas are considered by the society of the area which they inhabit as being of a trihybrid nature, it might be expected that they would manifest distinctive physical appearances.

The following description of the physical features of the Guineas appeared in the April 1929 issue of the West Virginia Review: "....swarthy olive complexion ..deep set black eyes ...very dark brown or black hair ...high cheek bones..."[22] This description is so stated as almost to lead one to believe that the Guineas do have distinctive physical characteristics, that these characteristics could be attributed to varying mixtures of Indian, Negro, white elements. However, the observations of the writer failed to corroborate the above mentioned description which seems to connote homogeneity of physical traits among the members of this group.

The facial features of the Guineas are not characterized by high cheek bones. Although cases of high cheek bones were occasionally observed among them, it was by no means prevalent enough to warrant a generalization to the effect that it is a trait characteristic of the group.

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21. Reuter, E. B., Race Mixture, New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1931, p. 80.
22. Patton, C. J., Op. cit., p.276.

The nose structure of the Guineas ranged from medium (mesorrhine) to a very long and slender type (leptorrhine). The broad flat nose characteristic of the Negro[23] was not seen during a two months period among these people. The large nostril, also used by many as an index to the Negroid nose type, was likewise absent among the Guineas. Also, the extremely high bridged, concave, or "hawk" nose was not in evidence; rather, the straight, long, slender, and somewhat pointed, nose seemed slightly more prevalent than all other types.

The structure of the lips was predominantly like the lip structure of the whites; not one single case of thick lips which characterize the Negro was observed.

As for skin color the Guineas ranged from very fair through all shades to a swarthy olive complexion. Not a few appear to be ruddy in complexion but it was difficult to ascertain whether this was a true color or merely the result of the weather conditioning the skin. It was reported to the writer by several informants that on several occasions people of this complexion had been mistaken by tourists for Mexicans or Puerto Ricans. While conversing with a traveling representative of the State, the writer was asked what "....Puerto Ricans were doing in this part of the country".

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23. Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948, p. 128.

Skin color was found to vary, although not to a considerable extent, within the same family; e.g., some children would appear slightly darker than others, For the most part, however, skin color was relatively uniform for those of very close blood relation. It seemed that the majority of the Guineas more closely resembled the whites than either Negro or Indian, on the basis of skin color. Many Guineas were inducted into service during World War II as white, and others reported to the writer that they were considered white in other sections of West Virginia.

According to Kroeber, hair form is "...possibly the most significant of all..." (criteria) for classifying races. "Hair texture seems to run rather rigidly along hereditary racial lines, and to be uninfluenced by factors of age, sex, climate, or nourishment."[24] The hair form of the Guineas covers a fairly wide range from curly to very straight, coarse to fine. Hair is distinguished as wooly in the Negro: frizzy or wooly hair was not observed at any time, although several of the group had fairly curly hair.

In hair color, the Guineas have all colors from very dark brown, medium brown, light brown, to blonde, and a few were noticed to have hair with a reddish tinge. Only

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24. Ibid., p. 128.

one of this group was noticed to have truly bright red hair. Dark and medium brown was the predominant hair color for the group. It was not within the scope of this study to obtain information as to body hair distribution, but all the men observed in this group had heavy beards.

Eye color among the Guineas is variable. Many were observed to have blue eyes, some hazel, but the majority possessed medium brown eyes.

The body structure and stature of the Guineas is not unique. Several of the local whites with whom the writer conversed attempted a sterotype of these characteristics by describing the "average Guinea" as being "lean, long and lanky", However, the body structure and stature of the Guineas varied too widely for this description to be a characteristic peculiar to that group.

A more quantitative representation of a few of the above mentioned physical characteristics, culled from a Barbour County voters' registry is presented in the following tables:

TABLE I
DISTRIBUTION OF TWO GUINEA SURNAME GROUPS INTO EIGHT SKIN COLOR CATEGORIES

Category	Number of Individuals
White	155
Light	48
Fair	44
Medium	2
Ruddy	10
Brown	14
Dark	25
Colored	4
Total	302*

* The Skin Color of five individuals was not indicated.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF TWO GUINEA SURNAME GROUPS INTO SEVEN HAIR COLOR CATEGORIES

Category	Number of Individuals
Blonde	1
Red	1
Light	5
Dark	23
Brown	168
Black	75
Gray	32
Total	305*

* The Hair Color of two individuals was not indicated.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF TWO GUINEA SURNAME GROUPS INTO SIX EYE COLOR CATEGORIES

Category	Number of Individuals
Blue	80
Brown	152
Gray	55
Black	13
Hazel	4
Dark	1
	305*

* The Eye Color of two individuals was not indicated.

The recorded height ranged from 4'0" to 6'4½" for the males and from 4'8" to 5'10" for the females. These physical characteristics are representative of the members of voting age of two surname groups who are definitely considered by the whites as being Guineas. It is well to remember that the height is "estimated height", and that the diversity of skin color represented was left to the discretion of whoever was in charge of the registration.

From the description of the physical characteristics given thus far in this chapter, several points are to be noted:

1. Variations of physical characteristics appear not only within the group as a whole, but can be noted within families.

2. Certain individuals exhibit physical characteristics peculiar to one or another of the three racial elements, but by and large, the majority of Guineas appear more white than Negro or Indian.

3. There seems to be no marked uniformity of characteristics prevalent among these people; in fact, heterogeneity of physical characteristics would seem to be the rule rather than the exception.

With such heterogeneity of physical characteristics represented among these people, it appears that it would indeed be a difficult task to use physical features as a criterion for identifying the Guinea.

The writer, for example, was informed time and again, when he first arrived in Philippi that, "...to really observe the 'Guineas' all you need do is loaf around the courthouse square particularly on Saturday." "This was the day", according to the informants, "when the Guineas come to town by the car load and spend the day in town." Heeding the advice of the informants proved quite fruitless because, for the most part, the writer was unable to distinguish the Guineas from any of the other farmers on the streets. Only as they were pointed out by townspeople could they be distinguished from the white populace.

To shed further light on the difficulty in identifying the Guineas by the criterion of physical appearances, two other cases involving the writer can be cited. The

first occurred the second day the writer was in the area. While engaging one of the county officials in conversation on the streets of Philippi, a rather dark complexioned, curly haired, individual passed by. The official had been identifying those people considered as Guineas all during the course of the conversation by nodding his head each time one passed. Since this particular individual was so dark in appearance, the writer looked for the "usual" nod of confirmation, but failed to discern even the slightest movement by the official. However obscure, there must have been some evidence of a puzzled look on the face of the writer because the official immediately proceeded to explain that the person who had just passed, "....sure looked like one, but claimed to be a 'French-Canadian." Although darker in appearance than most of the Guineas pointed out by this official, the "French-Canadian" was in no way subject to the same differential treatment as the Guinea in this town.

The other case involving the writer is really not one single case at all, but representative of several incidents which occurred where he was employed. The Guineas were not permitted to enter the tavern for purposes of being served. At the same time the writer was an employee there, a college graduate, who had formerly served as the county child welfare officer, was also employed to "learn

the business" preparatory to becoming manager. This individual had traveled throughout the county and had thereby come into contact with a great number of Guineas. Also, he had been reared in that county and was familiar enough with the people to identify many Guineas not only by sight, but by name. On several occasions when the writer would serve people, this individual would subtly attract the writer's attention and relate that the persons served were Guineas -- in many cases, members of families whom he had visited as a welfare worker. This he would do only as a matter of aiding the writer whom he knew to be making a study of these people.

Many of the townspeople even readily admitted that physical appearances of the Guinea were often deceiving because they varied so widely. One realtor, for example, stated that: "....Many of those Guinea girls who leave here to work in Canton (Ohio) and other cities, can really fool me when they get back here on vacation. They make pretty good money, and spend it on getting their hair fixed and buying nice clothes. Some of those girls are really pretty and when they fix-up and walk down the streets here, they sure can fool me. I just can't spot those who have been away from here."

There are townspeople, however, who insist that, re-

gardless of the heterogeneity of the physical features of these people, the Guineas do possess "certain" physical characteristics by which they can, with certainty, be "reliably identified." One such person, with whom the writer had close contact, vigorously stated that the Guineas were characterized by malformations of the elbow and knee joints. This malformation of the knee joints resulted, according to the informant, in a gait, "...peculiar only to those people."

A check with several doctors at a medical clinic, representing the only facilities available in the county for the Guineas, failed to corroborate any of the information expressed by this informant.

Others queried by the writer as to how the Guineas could be identified stated specifically that they could do it by external characteristics, but were not able to verbalize exactly what these characteristics were. For example, a salesman, who had been born and reared in Philippi, reported that during World War II, he was sent to another section of the state for specialized naval officer's training. During registration, the informant reported that he "spotted" a Guinea among a newly arrived group of students and was prepared to drop training until a friend persuaded him to remain. This informant was "positive" that the new student was a Guinea. When questioned as to how he could be so positive in his identifi-

cation, he reported, "I can spot one of those Guineas no matter where he is. I don't know how I can tell he's a Guinea but I can spot him just the same."

An explanation as to how these individuals identified the Guineas was proffered by several informants. The gist of this explanation can probably best be summed up in the remarks of a merchant during an informal conversation at the bar where the writer was employed. They were: "I really don't know how I can tell those people from anyone else, but I can say this -- line up a thousand people and just put one of them in the group and I'll bet my bottom dollar that I can pick him out! You know, I reckon you're just born with that ability because I sure as hell can't think of any other explanation; yes sir, you're just born with it!"

Although frequently heard among persons formally interviewed for specific information about the Guineas, and among others with whom the writer engaged in casual conversation, responses of this nature were, nevertheless, in the minority. The greater majority of informants readily admitted that they did not rely upon physical appearances as a criterion for identifying Guineas; "They're so white that you just can't tell for sure...", was a general response among them.

The proprietor of a local restaurant who had recently

come to Philippi from Akron, Ohio, reported: "I just can't tell these Guineas from anyone else - I think these townspeople who claim they can tell 'em just use their imagination too much!" It would appear that, regardless of the lengths to which some individuals go in the attempt to identify the Guineas by physical features, the physical characteristics of these people are by no means an infallible criterion by which they may be identified.

Inasmuch as physical characteristics are not of much use in identifying the Guineas, the question again arises: How then, are these people identified?

This question, as posed, did result in revealing a criterion which seems to be the most widely used one in the area. It is simply, checking the surnames. The common surnames of the persons identified as Guineas in the area under observation are: Adams, Collins, Croston, Culberson, (Culverson), Dalton, Dolton, Dorton, Kennedy, (Canada, Canaday, Canida, Canady), Mayle (Male, Mail, Maley, Maylee, Mayles, Mahle), Minard, (Miner, Minor), Newman, Norris, Parsons, and Pritchard. (Names in parenthesis are considered derivations of the name preceding them.) In other words, to possess any one of these names in the section in which the study was made is to be, <u>ipso facto</u>, a Guinea. For example, at the hospital which serves the whole area, cards bearing dates of en-

try and case histories are kept on file. These cards have on them a space designating the race of the patient. With the permission of the hospital administrator, the writer was able to examine the file room and interview the nurse in charge there.

It was the responsibility of this nurse to see that all cards were properly filled out. When queried as to how she classified the Guineas, she reported that she always marked the card "Colored" after checking the name of the patient. "I have been here long enough to know all the Guinea names, so I don't have to ask about race -- I just mark it 'Colored' and let it go at that", she reported.

At the tavern where the writer was employed, the owner was asked how she managed to "detect" Guineas who might attempt to enter the establishment. She reported: "I just walk over to the table of anyone I suspect in here and strike up a conversation. Pretty soon I say, 'Don't I know you?', or, 'I'm sorry but I've forgotten your name', and when they tell me their name I know whether or not they are Guineas."

Occasionally some of the children of Guinea parentage are sent to white schools only to be sent home by the teacher. The superintendent of schools in Barbour County revealed that such cases do not occur too often, but he did cite two examples of the use of names as being

the criterion of final identification. One case, fairly recent, involved the two children of a Guinea father and a mother who was of Russian descent. The Superintendent reported that the mother had come to the United States with her parents at an early age. Her parents had never learned to speak English and, "...stayed pretty much to themselves -- completely ignorant of the colored situation in this county." The girl, "...also apparently unaware of the situation, married a fellow by the name of Mayle'." When her children came of school age the mother sent them to a white school where the teacher, upon seeing their name, sent them home. All efforts on the part of the woman to have her children re-admitted to the white school failed. According to the superintendent, she finally left the state.

Another case involved a girl described as, "a very pretty, blonde, blue-eyed, high school senior," who was not only an honor student, but extremely popular and active in the extra-curricular program of the school. It seems that a student census was required one year in which the names of both parents were requested. The school officials were "alarmed" to note that the maiden name of the mother of this student was, "...a Guinea name." A special board meeting was called and, "...after due consideration of the case, it was decided just to

conveniently overlook the matter." The Superintendent went on to explain that the mother of this student had moved away from this area at an early age and married a "white man." The family moved back into the area where all the children were sent to white schools, and since the father's name was not a Guinea one, there had been no trouble until this incident.

One other case of the substitution of surname as means of identifying the Guinea utilized by the white populace will be cited to illustrate the significance of this criterion.

Once a year the mobile tuberculosis unit visits Philippi for the purpose of x-raying anyone who so desires it. When the unit arrived in town during the writer's stay there, he was able to exert a little influence through the local director, with whom he had become personally acquainted, and obtain work with the technician in charge of the unit. The unit, which consisted of a large tractor and trailer, was parked behind the courthouse in the center of town. The registering of all persons who came for an x-ray was managed by a group of women volunteers. When a person arrived for an x-ray, a card was filled-out by these workers, then the person would come out to the unit for the actual picture. The writer posed as a working member of the unit whose job it was to check the cards

of the registrant as he came through for his picture.

This physical description of the situation is deemed necessary to make clear the somewhat unique system of race classification which the writer observed as a worker on this project. The system was as follows: As the individual was registered for the x-ray, the information requested included among other things, name and race. When a person with a name known to be that of a Guinea registered, in ten cases out of a total of twenty-nine, the race of the person was not even requested by several of the volunteer workers; rather, the workers filled in that space with "Colored", because, they "..knew them to be colored by the name given." As one woman, who was in charge of the group, reported to the writer, "I don't have to ask them 'race' -- when they tell me their name I know what they are. I did ask one Croston girl her race to see what she'd say. She stammered around with a guilty conscience when she said 'white' ....I knew she was colored -- all Crostons are colored."

Other workers did request "race" of the registrant with the result that nineteen of the twenty-nine registrants answered "white". However, in ten such cases, the woman in charge would not at a girl seated at the extreme end of the table. As the registrant walked from the table to the unit, he was followed by this girl who re-marked

the card from "white" to "colored" as soon as the registrant had departed.

The remaining nine cases which were registered as white were left unchanged. This was due to the fact that some of these workers seemed less concerned about race classification than others.

After a new group of workers had come to relieve the others, the writer attempted to register under the assumed name of "Harley Male". The woman in charge at the time appeared somewhat flustered during the course of this experiment. The writer was requested to spell the name and observed that the race category was left blank until the card had been completely filled-out. Then, after some hesitancy, the woman marked the card, "white". Later in the day the writer revealed his real name to this woman and pretended to have "played a joke" by registering under the assumed name. The woman then stated she had "...nearly marked ...(you)..'colored' but the name you gave me was spelled differently." She went on to say, "If you had spelled it with a 'y' instead of the very old spelling, I'd have marked you 'colored' for sure." (The surname "Male" is no longer as prevalent as its derivation "Mayle" in this area.)

By way of summary, the physical characteristics of the Guineas are widely varied, and by virtue of this heterogeneity, are not an infallible criterion of identifica-

tion.

Some informants do insist, however, that the Guineas do possess "certain" physical characteristics by which they can be identified. Often these "certain" characteristics could not be readily verbalized or accounted for. However, the majority of the people in the area seem to feel that the Guineas are, "...too white to really be sure."

One wonders if these "certain" physical appearances that some townspeople insist upon are really physical features at all. It was the experience of the writer, for example, after spending some time in the area, to identify, with some accuracy, Guineas whom he would see around town. The town was small enough that the same people were seen repeatedly, and recognition of someone formerly identified by others as being Guinea was, therefore, no task at all. Also, the mode of dress of the Guinea was generally different from that worn by a majority of the townspeople. Their clothing was generally of poorer quality than that of the whites and did not appear to fit as well. One can only speculate, since there is no verification, that possibly the mode of dress of the Guineas, although not radically different, is an almost unconscious criterion of identification utilized by these people.

The most widely used criterion of identifying the

Guineas was found to be the checking of surnames. Regardless of physical features, certain families residing in the area are considered Guineas solely by virtue of their surname. It would appear in the case of the Guineas, then, that there exists a breakdown in the traditional means of identifying a group by their "distinctive physical features." Despite the fact that a majority of the Guineas do not manifest any "biological marks of origin" they are nonetheless accorded differential treatment. On this basis, we can only conclude that this inequality stems from a social definition of race rather than from biological facts.

Chapter VI

Social Participation

This chapter will be concerned with a description of the participation of Guineas in various phases of social life in the area in which they were observed. An attempt will be made to treat this participation in a twofold manner. Participation within their own group and participation in the life of the whole area will be described.

Specific aspects of participation to be described include: economic and political life, religious life, formal educational systems, and inter-personal relations.

The economic life of the Guineas might best be described as primarily agricultural. They have traditionally maintained themselves by small scale farming, with some trapping of small animals for food and pelts, which they sell. For the most part, their farms are quite small and, as will be recalled, are generally located in country which is so mountainous that cultivation of crops on any large scale would be difficult. The main product seems to be corn with some growing of tobacco and small plots of beans and potatoes. Raising livestock is at a minimum. Some Guineas possess a few cows, and pigs, and a greater number of them raise chickens for their own consumption. Many of those engaged in farming are scratching out a living at the subsistence level. In addition to

this sub-marginal farming, some are engaged in forestry, i.e., they cut and split logs which are sold as mine timbers to various coal companies in the surrounding area.

Less in number than those engaged in farming are those who are coal miners. Many of the men who reside in the area known as West Hill, in Taylor County, are occupied in the mines at Galloway, while a fewer number of men in the Philippi area seem to be engaged in this occupation.

Guinea women employed outside the home are widely engaged by townspeople as domestic workers. The older women are more apt to do part time work of this nature over and above their own household duties. However, numerous younger women leave home, after quitting school at the age of sixteen years, to accept domestic work which entails their living at the place of employment. There are cases of men doing menial tasks at private homes but they seem to be at a minimum. As a rule income from this type of employment is generally low. Many whites, who hire Guineas for such tasks, reported that often they displayed a preference for being paid with old clothes in lieu of money. These informants stated that the Guineas used the old clothing for trading purposes.

Although there is no way of knowing the exact number, many Guineas are employed in industry far from their native home. With the advent of World War II there came

a surge of defense work which created a tremendous need for all types of labor. In response to these labor needs, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers migrated throughout the country. It was during this period that many Guineas migrated to the highly industrialized areas of Warren, Canton, and Akron, Ohio, where they were employed as defense workers.

When the war terminated, a great many of these people returned to their former homes in West Virginia. However, many others elected to take up permanent residence in Ohio. Still others of this group, mostly men, preferred to remain in industrial occupations but maintain their homes in West Virginia. In such cases, the employed member of the family travels back and forth every weekend, or about twice a month, while the wife assumes the responsibility for maintaining the home and rearing the children.

The writer was unable to learn the exact reasons for this latter arrangement but it seems not too unlikely that one or the other, if not both of the following reasons might plausibly account for it. The first is rather cut and dried -- economics. Most of the Guineas own their homes in West Virginia and with the cost of urban living being what it is, find it cheaper in the long run to commute. The second, and possibly more important reason evolves from the writer's long association with "hill

people" who are much more primary than secondary group oriented. They tend to develop strong sentimental ties with the "hill country" and the mode of life there. To such primary group oriented persons the complexity and pace of life generally associated with urban areas may often become confusing and distasteful to them. Also, kinship ties are strongly manifested among hill people making them desirous to "be with th' kinfolk". Whatever the reason, or reasons, accounting for the return of Guineas to their former homes in West Virginia, this much seems rather certain; that the reason was stronger than the desire to "pass". Even though such limitations as time and lack of money prevented the writer from personally visiting the aforesaid industrial areas, there is little reason to doubt that many of the Guineas who remained in Ohio after the war, and for that matter those who are currently residing in that state, became accepted as whites. It seemed common knowledge among the white populace of Barbour County, many of whom had worked in Ohio themselves, that the Guineas "passed" as white there, and several Guineas reported similarly.

That more and more Guineas are entering the industrial labor force seems evident. Much farm land on the ridges surrounding Philippi was noted by the writer to be untilled. As one old Guinea resident lamented, "Folks around

here don't farm like they useta -- they's good land out on them ridges that useta be cared fer but now hit's all grow-'d over with weeds. .....Nope, it ain't like it useta be!" Then too, many Ohio license tags could be seen on automobiles parked around the courthouse square on any Saturday when Guineas generally came to town. These were not just the automobiles of tourists, for it is the custom of these people, as it is with many "small town" people, to remain in, near, or around their cars, using them as a sort of "headquarters" during the course of the day's shopping. A state trouper who has patrolled the highways in Barbour County for a number of years reported: "There are more Ohio cars going out of here on Sundays around 2:30 (p.m.) than you can imagine....there are so many Guineas leaving about that time that it looks like a caravan headed back there!" Moreover, several Guinea children, with whom the writer conversed, expressed a desire to return to Ohio where they had "grow'd up", or to move there to live with relatives as soon as it was possible for them to leave school. The principal of the largest Guinea school reported that many of his students do leave as soon as they reach the age of sixteen.

It would seem, then, that there is definite tendency for more and more Guineas to break away from sub-marginal farming and limited work in local coal mines, which have

traditionally been the basis of their economy in West Virginia, and enter into industrial labor elsewhere.

In numerous cases it was observed that a great many Guineamen were idle. Any hour of the day some of them could be seen loitering around the courthouse and many others were observed reclining on the porches of their homes when the time of the year (summer) ordinarily calls for activity among rural people. Of forty-three families questioned specifically about "occupation of Head of family", in areas adjacent to Philippi, seventeen replied "nothin'", while several of those who replied "farming" generally had this reply amended by their wives with "when he sets to it!" The garden plots, if any, were small and not too well cared for. Around many homes land which showed evidence of once having been tilled had grown over with weeds and underbrush. Several of these informants implied, and some stated openly, that they were on relief. The percentage of these people who are receiving assistance was estimated as "large" by townspeople in general and merchants who cashed relief checks. However, verification of these reports is lacking since this agency refused to reveal any information whatever about the matter.

Another occupation, or means of making a living, which the Guineas have been reported to pursue comes under the heading of "illegal"; viz. moonshining. However, due to

the nature of this phase of economic life among the Guineas, evidence of its nature or extensiveness is, of course, lacking.

Very few Guineas are participating in commercial enterprises in the area. Only two small grocery stores and one tavern operated by Guineas were observed. Also, they are not to be found in any of the professions with the exception of a very few school teachers.

Occupationally, then, the Guineas, for the most part, seem restricted to farming and menial tasks in the areas which they inhabit.

The overall standard of living among these people, when contrasted to that of the society surrounding them, is relatively low. Foodstuffs are bought in sufficient quantities but of a limited variety. A grocer who serves a great many Guineas in Barbour County reported : "About all they ever buy is side meat (pork), beans and potatoes." The writer had the opportunity to make several trips to another grocery with a young Guinea boy who bought nothing more than tobacco and beans each time. Any number of children, and adults for that matter, observed in the hills appeared emaciated to the point of ill health.

Clothing worn by Guineas varies according to the amount of income of the family. The males were most generally attired in denim over-alls or work clothing, while

women wore plain cotton dresses. Many were dressed in clothing which was thin, torn, or ragged, and several children were observed wearing practically no clothing at all. However, since these people were observed during the summer months it hardly seems valid to assume that they lack adequate clothing; rather, many may choose this as a mode of dress.

With the exception of a very few who dwell in Galloway, Guineas do not reside in the towns of the area. Their houses are located along the hillsides and ridges surrounding Philippi and throughout the mountainous region northeast of that community to the southern environs of Grafton in Taylor County.

The houses of the Guineas varied from small shacks to recently painted two story houses. Some of the shacks appeared to have been built from odd scraps of wood, had ceilings less than six feet high, and were papered within by old newspapers. A few Guineas occupied very old hand hewn log cabins calked with mud. Many houses were observed which were in various stages of general deterioration, that is, their porches sagged, roofs needed repair, and windows lacked glass panes. Houses were visited which had only one or two rooms but which were occupied by families of ten to twelve members. For example, one such house had two beds in the one room which served

the man, wife and five children of the family. Another small house of three rooms was occupied by a woman, her invalid husband and ten children. Plumbing facilities, for the most part, consisted of wells, outside toilets, and some houses were observed which had no electricity. Screening on windows and doors was seldom noted and chickens were to be seen roaming at will throughout many houses. Other houses appeared to be kept in better repair than those just described. Larger two story houses were in a definite minority. Relative to the housing of the surrounding society, the housing of the Guineas was markedly inferior.

The religious life of the Guineas is restricted to their own churches, which are all Protestant. Of the various denominations represented in the area only the Methodists, who seem to be the most numerous, have regular church buildings. There are two Methodist groups to which the Guineas belong; the Wesleyan Methodists and the African Methodists, a Negro denomination. Both groups have buildings in the Chestnut Ridge sections of Barbour County, but only the Wesleyan Methodists have a church in the West Hill sections of Taylor County. The pastor of the Wesleyan Methodist congregations serves their churches in both counties, alternating his services so that he spends every other Sunday at each. Although

this individual is not identified as a Negro and does not possess a surname common to the Guineas, he seems to identify with them. Marriage records reveal that his daughters have all married Guineas, thereby approaching complete identification with that group as far as the whites in the area are concerned. On the other hand, the African Methodist services are conducted by a Negro minister who travels there each week from Clarksburg, Harrison County.

The African Methodists are the older, better established of the two Methodist congregations among the Guineas. The appearance of the Wesleyan Methodists, on the other hand, is a relatively recent development, the membership of which, by and large, consists of Guineas who have broken away from the African Methodist group. The background of this "break" away from the African Church is vague. White informants know little or nothing about it, and, for the most part, the Guineas were reticent about discussing it. About all the information that could be culled from the informants who were willing to discuss the church was that "faction differences" had been in the past somewhat bitter. These "differences" culminated in a number of African Methodists establishing a church of their own and affiliating with the Wesleyan Methodists. Just what constituted "faction differences", be they dif-

ferences over doctrine or otherwise, the writer was unable to learn. However, it is interesting to note that in both areas where the Wesleyan Methodist churches are located, Guineas more strongly tend to identify themselves as "white", One such area is Croston, in Barbour County. Not only did the Guineas there unanimously assert that they were "white", but a check of court records revealed that a great many of them had participated in a "protest strike" against colored classification of their school. Similarly, the Guineas in West Hill area asserted that they were "white". Moreover, those Guineas who lived in the vicinty of the African Methodist church, when queried, tended more to identify themselves as "colored". In this particular case it appears that, more probably, the "faction differences" which caused the split in the church grew out of the protests of some Guineas to Negro church affiliation, rather than protests to doctrinal differences. Several Guineas implied during conversation that this was the case, but adequate verification on the matter is in need of further investigation.

Other religious denominations represented among Guineas include Baptists, Church of God, Saints of Christ, United Brethren, and Pentacostal. By special permission of the School Board in Barbour County, these denominations conduct their services in their school houses. Many Guineas with whom the writer conversed attended these services

even though a number of them were unable to identify the denomination in charge of the services. These individuals seemed content to call themselves "Protestant" and attend "church" regardless of the denomination conducting the services.

Very little factual information concerning the political life of the Guineas is available. There is no formal political organization within the group, and evidence of even informal organization of any kind is lacking. It was reported, however, that during the latter part of the nineteen-thirties, there existed a political council at Meriden (Barbour County), the purpose of which was to promote unity of the people and thereby to improve their general welfare. Members of this organization were elected by the local citizenry and they, in turn, appointed a presiding officer. In a sense, this council represented a political action group; they sought to improve the schools, exert pressure to improve roadways, and generally take "appropriate action" to insure themselves of the advantages of various state agencies. According to a former member of this council, they were responsible for obtaining...." a good deal of the electrification throughout the area, decent roads, and many other improvements." This council dissolved in the latter part of 1942.

Participation in the political life of the surrounding society has been of a passive nature. Guineas do serve jury

duty and have had the right to vote since the state was founded (1863), but there is no record of one of them ever attaining a position anywhere in a political system. Whether this passive participation in political life is a function of sheer lack of effort or owing to restriction of movement in such circles is not known, but in light of the existing general patterns of social discrimination, the latter seems more probable.

Tales of "political exploitation" of the Guineas by local politicians were often cited by non-Guinea informants, but there is no way of checking their authenticity. Also, Gilbert reports that these people hold the balance of power in elections, but like the tales of political exploitation, positive proof of this power is unobtainable.[25]

Party affiliations of the Guineas are reported as being predominantly Republican. A check of two surnames invariably identified as Guinea names, which appear on a voter's registration in Barbour County, reveals 230 of a total of 307 names registered as Republican.

The formal education of Guineas, perhaps more than in any other area, exemplifies the restricted character of

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25. Gilbert, W. H., Jr., Op. cit., p.441.

their social life. This aspect of social participation has been the one in which there has been most active resistance by Guineas to their being relegated to a position of colored status. It will be recalled from Chapter 3 that the state of West Virginia maintains a bi-racial school system. However, in Barbour County, the bi-racial school system has not been adequate as in other counties, and has created, in the past, no end of trouble for school officials. The Guineas have refused to attend Negro schools, and they are not permitted to attend those for the white school children. In order to cope with this problem separate schools have been provided by the county board of education to accommodate Guinea children. At present there are eight such schools located throughout the hills wherever Guineas are found to be concentrated. The county still considers them as "colored schools" and enumerates them as such in the state school directory. This has largely been a source of difficulty for the school board since the constitution of the State clearly declares that teachers of colored schools shall be provided from their own race. In order to abide by state law, Barbour County supplied Negro teachers, usually "imported" from other states, for those schools attended exclusively by Guinea children. The Guineas resented the idea of having their children taught by Negroes and having their schools classified as colored, until finally, in the fall of 1941,

they openly defied the school board by refusing to send their children to these schools. According to a local newspaper account of the affair: "....the parents based their refusal to send their children to these schools on the grounds that the teachers were colored or of African descent....(even though the schools themselves are designated as colored schools by the Barbour County Board of Education."[26]) The school board met this problem by calling a special meeting for October 7, 1941, the purpose of which was to, "....investigate the racial background of these parents (who claimed to be white) and their children, and served notice to each of them to be present at that meeting and present their interests in the matter of their racial classification."[27] A committee of Guineas appeared before this meeting and filed a written request that they be furnished white school teachers. The Board then reviewed birth records of Guineas in the District Board of Education back beyond the year 1900; "....petitions which some of the patrons had signed in prior years, and which requested the Board to hire specifically named teachers who are dicidedly of Negro descent, and other such written evidence bearing upon the

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26. "School Board Takes Action in Local Row", Barbour County Republican, November 27, 1941, Vol. LXII, p.1.
27. Ibid.

racial classification of the parents and children in question."[28]

After the above mentioned "evidence" had been checked, the Board of Education adjudged the Guinea children: "..to belong to the colored race and assigned them to the colored school in the sub-district wherein each resided."[29]

The decision of the school board proved ineffective. Guinea parents still refused to send their children back to school, with the result that the board issued warrants for their arrest. According to a Negro school teacher, who has been teaching in their schools for many years, about thirty-five Guineas were "locked up" in the county jail. Whites in the area, recalling the incident, remarked: "The jail was runnin' over with 'em!" Only eight of the thirty-five appealed their cases to the circuit court.

Four days after the warrants were issued against these Guineas, one of their schools "mysteriously" burned to the ground. The following newspaper account of the blaze appeared in the Philippi Republican on December 4, 1941:

> "An early morning blaze, which started from an unknown origin, completely destroyed the Croston colored school house, located near here, early Monday morning.

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28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.

> The blaze was discovered about 3:30 a.m. by some people who lived near by but it was too far gone to save anything. This school was a new two roomed building, built last year at a cost of over $3,000 to the Board of Education.....
>
> Representatives of the state fire marshal's offices arrived here Monday afternoon to investigate the fire but no arrests have been made."[30]

Soon after the Croston school burned, another, located at Chestnut Ridge, also "mysteriously" burned. There is no absolute proof that these buildings were deliberately burned by Guineas in proteststo the action taken by the school board against the "strikers". That they were deliberately burned, however, seemed common knowledge among the townspeople, including the Superintendent of Schools, who referred to the incident as, "...the time the Guineas burned their schools."

When the eight persons who had appealed their cases finally appeared in the circuit court, they were defeated by the school board. As mentioned in the chapter on the history of these people, in most cases they have been traditionally registered as "colored" in the record books of the county. By checking birth and other records in the courthouse, the lawyers for the Board thus established to the satisfaction of the court that those Guineas appearing in court were of colored ancestry. The court, in

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30. "Croston Schoolhouse Burns", Philippi Republican, December 4, 1941, Vol. LXII, p. 1.

deciding the cases, upheld the usual decree made in other courts throughout the state of West Virginia, to the effect that the term "colored" is defined as meaning, "....any person with a trace of any blood other than white or Caucasian."[31]

In an interview with the Superintendent of Schools in Barbour County, it was reported that, "....trouble with the Guineas seems to have leveled off and things are relatively quiet now as compared with the past ten or twelve years." This official also reported that, whereas during the "troublesome period" (referred to in the preceeding paragraphs) some of the Guinea parents attempted to send their children to white schools, this rarely, if ever, happens at the present time. He reported that in the past, five cases of this sort were settled in court, the Board winning each case. One of these was appealed all the way through the State Supreme Court, but, like the others, it too was defeated. The end result in each case was the same -- the child in question was declared to be "colored" and ordered to attend the separate school system.

The superintendent could recall only two cases of this nature within recent years which he could term as "problematic". Both of these were reported in an earlier

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31. Ibid.

chapter of this paper and need be only briefly recounted here. Once concerned a girl who was in her senior year in aa white school of the county before it was learned by officials that her mother was a Guinea. Her case was "conveniently" overlooked by the school board. The other concerned the children of a "white mother and a Guinea father", who were refused admittance to a white school. According to the Superintendent, this mother appeared at the Board office with her children whom he described as "white as any children in that school". He went on to report that when this woman demanded that her children be admitted to white schools, he had to resort again to court records to prove the father was colored, thereby making it compulsory for the children to attend colored schools. When confronted with court records the woman "left in a huff", declaring, "They may be 'colored' but their souls are just as white as anybody."

He concluded the interview by declaring that such cases seldom if ever reached the courts nowadays, because "all we have to do when Guineas come here is show them the five other cases we've beat in court, and that usually quiets them down." However, as this information was being related by the Superintendent, there were verbal indications that he manifested a certain amount of guilt feelings concerning such incidents.

Although this School Board continues to classify the Guinea schools as "colored", the members of the Board attempt to avoid future difficulty by taking certain precautionary measures in the hiring of teachers. According to the school officials, every effort is now made to appoint only Guineas or "near whites" to teach in these schools. The teachers who are at the present instructing Guinea children were spoken of by townspeople as being "competent"; all were college trained, and several had Master's degrees, or were still doing graduate work at various universities.

In Taylor County the school situation is quite different from that of Barbour County. There is only one case in the records of that county involving the Board of Education in a dispute concerned with Guineas, and that was in the year, 1922. A temporary injunction was awarded a Guinea of that county restraining the School Board from preventing his children from attending a white school, "....and receiving instruction therein as other pupils attending said school and said defendants and all other persons are also restrained till further order of the court herein from calling said children....opprobrious names such as 'colored' or 'nigger'."[32] This injunction,

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32. Records of the Circuit Court, 1922, Taylor County, West Virginia.

awarded on November 18, 1922, was "dissolved" on December 5, of the same year.

According to the Superintendent of Schools in this county, the Guinea schools are not classified as "colored", and are not listed as such in the State School Directory. It was reported that one superintendent, during the early part of the 1940's, did classify their two Guinea schools as colored, but when the Guineas learned of this, thirty of them came to the board offices to protest the classification. The present Superintendent explained that in the meantime the official responsible for the classification had left for duty with the Armed Forces. Once the Guineas were assured that their schools would no longer be enumerated as colored in the state directory, the trouble ceased, reported the school official.

It has been the policy of Taylor County to appoint teachers from among the Guineas, and in the Fall of 1951, a white principal was appointed to one of the schools there.

The school buildings, which have been provided for the Guinea children in both counties, are comparable in most respects to the rural schools provided for the white children in the area.

In Barbour County, seven of the schools are small one-room buildings, and one has two rooms. All are white wood frame buildings, with the exception of the two which were

built to replace those which burned at Croston and Chestnut Ridge. These two are constructed of cement blocks, which have been cemented over to create a modern appearance.

The equipment and furnishing of these schools seem adequate with the possible exception of heating facilities, which consis of single stoves. A teacher in one of these schools remarked: "Our schools are in fair shape, but the Board of Education has had a little friction due to the complaints of other (white) schools regarding appropriations." This person claimed that the average "colored teacher" was better educated than most white elementary teachers, which accounted for more school funds being appropriated to colored teachers by way of salaries. This informant reported that the white teachers resented the higher salaries and their complaints to the school board had "..caused a little trouble in getting appropriations for better school equipment."

In Taylor County, schools are white frame buildings similar in every respect to those in Barbour County. The teachers there are likewise reported to be competent and "respected citizens".

There are no high school facilities available in either Barbour or Taylor County for the colored children. However in order to provide "equal educational opportunities" for their colored students, both counties have co-operated to

furnish joint transportational facilities to convey them twenty-five miles to Clarksburg, West Virginia, where they may attend a Negro high school. This means that in Barbour County, where Guinea students have been legally defined as colored and are thereby absolutely forbidden to attend white schools, those who desire to attend school beyond the elementary level, must attend this Negro high school.

So many Guinea parents are opposed to the idea of sending their children to a Negro school, however, that with the exception of a very few who can afford correspondence courses, few children from this county attain education beyond the eighth grade. As is the case with similar groups reported on to date, these parents seem content that their children receive only the minimum of education rather than have them attend Negro schools.[33] During conversation they would generally remark: "It cost too much to send the kids to school in Clarksburg;", yet, books were furnished by the school, transportation was free of charge, and the hot lunch program cost these parents no more than ten cents per day.

Again we find the situation in Taylor County differing from that of Barbour. In Taylor County neither school of-

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33. Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in the United States, New York: Dryden Press, 1951, p. 164.

ficials, nor the citizenry, seem so concerned about making certain that Guinea students attend the Negro high school in Clarksburg. Consequently, very few Guinea students from this county bother to attend the Negro school, and those who do attend seldom remain there for any length of time. The Superintendent of Schools reported: "Many of them slip into adjoining counties, or go to Ohio, where they have relatives, to obtain a high school education." He pointed out that several children from Guinea families have been known to have graduated from the white high school in Grafton, and added that he knew of "...several who are at present enrolled in white schools without apparent protest from anyone."

Those Guinea students who do attend and remain at the Negro high school apparently have little difficulty in adjusting there. "At the beginning, the appearance of blonde, blue-eyed students with skin as fair as any white person's created a social problem....." stated the principal of this school in an interview. He asserted that the Guinea students were at first received by the Negro students with some disdain, and vice-versa, resulting in the Guineas "...staying pretty much to themselves." However, as time passed, this out-group behavior gave way to more active participation by Guineas in school activities and closer association with Negro students. The principal reported that overt conflict was never manifested in

the situation and, "...today they are not only active in school affairs but date Negro students as well."

There is very little evidence available as to the number of Guinea who attain college education. A few have attended Alderson-Broaddus College in Philippi, where a policy of non-discrimination has been maintained over a period of years. Others have been reported to have attended West Virginia State College, a Negro institution located at Institute, West Virginia; however, there are no students listed from Barbour, and only one from Taylor County in the latest enrollment statistics released by that school.[34]

The recreational life of the Guineas is still another area of social participation which is largely characterized as being of a restricted nature. There are no playgrounds, or evidence of organized recreational activities provided for Guinea children in the entire area, with the exception of an annual 4-H summer camp. This camp, operating under the State Negro Cooperation Extension Service, is poorly attended by Guinea children and receives very little cooperation and support from adult Guineas. The camp is held at the "white" 4-H camp site in Barbour County, and in addition to regular 4-H classes, features

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34. "West Virginia State College: Enrollment by Counties 1949-1950", Biennial Report 1949-1950; Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics, State of West Virginia, 1950, p. 54.

such planned recreation as swimming, hiking, horse shoes, volley ball, and baseball. During the 1951 summer encampment, the writer was requested by the director to act as lifeguard for the only swimming session on the program. This enabled the writer to observe at first hand, for a very limited time, of course, the interaction of Guinea and Negro children, and associate with the camp director on a more personal basis. The director accounted for the "poor attendance" of Guinea children, and lack of cooperation on the part of their parents, as being largely due to the camp being sponsored by a Negro agency. The few children there from Barbour County were Guineas, while those from other counties were Negroes. The contrast between blonde, blue-eyed Guineas and the Negro children was striking in terms of physical appearances, but all participated in the same play activities with equal zeal.

The children who do not attend this camp appear to content themselves with recreation which, for the most part, consists of fishing, swimming, and other play activities usually associated with children from rural areas.

On the adult level, recreation of an organized nature was not observed. Radios are to be found in almost every home, regardless of appearance, and is probably one of the chief sources of recreation among these people.

There are no movie theatres in the hilly areas inhab-

ited by the Guineas, but many of them seem to attend those which are located in the towns. In Philippi, Guineas were not observed attending the better of the two theaters located there, and those who attended the other had to sit in a special section set aside for them in the balcony. In Taylor County, the policy of seating Guineas separately in theatres is not so strictly adhered to as in Barbour.

It was reported that at one time in Barbour County, the Guineas had an annual Fair similar to most rural fairs at which quilts, canned fruits, and farm products were entered for competition and display. Apparently this affair was enthusiastically partidpated in by a majority of these people. However, despite its popularity it lapsed early in the 1940's after the trouble with the school board concerning the classification of their schools as "colored". Subsequent attempts by some to revive the Fair have met with failure to date.

Sports activity among the Guineas is at a minimum. However, the tendency to obliterate racial barriers in sports throughout the country is likewise to be found creeping into this area. Today, Guineas are to be seen participating in various sports activities with the townspeople from which they had formerly been excluded. At Philippi, a baseball conscious town, the catcher, and until very recently, the star pitcher, of the local ball

club are Guineas. The latter mentioned player, despite an excellent record with the team, has resigned because he felt the pressures of discrimination from other players. This discrimination did not take place while on the playing field, but in Philippi proper where this individual claimed that he was constantly being "snubbed" by the other players. He joined a smaller team which already had three other Guinea players, for the 1951 season. According to a white player on this team, there was never evidence of any discrimination displayed against the Guineas by their white team mates. This informant also reported that when the team travels into other counties for games, the Guineas enjoy complete equality in restaurants, "....and even date white girls and no one knows the difference!"

Guineas are never found to be participating in any of the area organizations because membership is denied them. However, they may join Negro organizations, but rarely do so. The Royal Arch Masons (Negro) was active with Guinea membership prior to World War II, but this organization has dwindled in size to eight members, and is inactive. In September of 1951, this lodge merged with The Most Worshipful Grand Lodge, AF and AM, in an effort to revitalize lodge activities among the Guineas. The success, or failure, of these efforts remain, thus far, unreported.

Very few Guineas participate in farm rehabilitation

programs sponsored by the county agent. This is understandable in light of the tendency for fewer Guineas to engage in farming on any large scale. Not only is most of their land very mountainous and difficult to cultivate, but as was pointed out earlier, many are abandoning all efforts at farming in favor of industrial occupations in other states.

Hospitals in the area have no policy of racial discrimination; Negroes, whites, and Guineas, are placed in the same wards and semi-private rooms, but restaurants, on the other hand, are more apt to "draw the color line". Many of them can be observed throughout the area displaying "white trade only" signs, the function of which is to bar Guinea trade. These signs are especially prevalent in Philippi, where only one combination pool room and lunch counter serves them. In Grafton (Taylor County) signs of this nature are nowhere to be seen. The writer was unable to discern categorical discrimination in the restaurants of this town such as exists in Philippi; and interviews with Guineas revealed that many of them frequented the restaurants of Grafton almost at will. However, a selective factor may be at work here inasmuch as the Guineas are more likely to frequent only those restaurants in which food prices are more compatible with lower incomes. Due to lack of time the writer was not able to learn whether or not stricter discriminatory practices ex-

ist in the "better" restaurants than in the "lesser" ones. Therefore, it is only safe to conclude that in the absence of such obvious discriminatory practices as "white trade only" signs, the restaurants of Grafton are less guilty of categorical discrimination against Guineas than are the Philippi restaurants.

The Guineas have been a source of confusion to the Selective Service officials, especially during World War II. According to these officials, the Guineas registered as "white" on the initial registration card. When questionnaires were mailed out, many changed this registration to "colored". The officials were certain that this was done for two reasons: First of all: "The Guineas feared punishment because the questionnaire was a sworn statement, so they told the truth;" and secondly: "They figured they wouldn't as likely be called to service being registered as 'colored', because we got fewer calls for colored troops." Whatever the reasons were, the resultant confusion necessitated in the local draft board having to contact the State Selective Service System for instructions on the matter. The State Board advised that the Guineas be designated by whatever they had marked on the questionnaire, which, reported a local official, "...resulted in many very white looking people being sent for induction along with Negroes." At the induction stations, these men were generally separated from the Negroes and those who were in-

ducted served with white units in the Armed Services.

Confusion in this registration no longer exists because "Race" is not required on the new questionnaires; nor are the races inducted separately.

The service Honor Rolls, which have been erected throughout the area by various organizations, seldom list Guineas. Only one Guinea name was ever observed on such a list in Barbour county, and that was in the mining community of Galloway. In Philippi, several Guinea names appear on a monument honoring the deceased of the first World War, but none are to be seen on the World War II honor roll.

On the level of inter-personal relations in the area, there is very little social intercourse between Guineas and the townspeople, outside of employer-employee associations which exists when Guineas are hired for domestic service. Seldom does one observe Guineas and townspeople stopping to converse on the streets, nor, do they participate in social visits at one another's homes. Moreover, at the one pool room in Philippi, which Guineas were permitted to enter, whites and Guineas were not observed fraternizing. With social distance being what it is between these groups, it is little wonder that dating between Guineas and townspeople is practically nil, and consequently, there is very little inter-marriage.

By way of summary: from the foregoing description it appears that the patterns of social relations which prevail among the Guineas and whites follow rather closely those which prevail in the South among Negroes and whites.

The economic life of the Guineas has been traditionally rural, characterized in the past by sub-marginal farming. Aside from those who still maintain themselves by farming, a few are occupied in coal mines and menial jobs. There are indications that a great many Guineas are jobless and supported by relief.

During World War II, many of these people migrated to industrial cities in Ohio to engage in defense work. Some of them returned to West Virginia, but many preferred to remain in industry. There is little doubt that high wage scales acted as an incentive for some of those who remained in other states, but it seems not too unlikely that there is more of an incentive to remain in areas where they are accepted as "white".

The over-all standard of living of the Guineas seemed lower than the whites in the area. Their foodstuffs are of a limited variety, clothing scant, and housing generally inferior to that of most of the community.

The religious life of the Guineas is confined to their own churches, which are all Protestant.

There is a paucity of information concerning the po-

litical life of the Guineas. Participation in local, state, and national political affairs seems to be of a passive nature.

Participation by the Guineas in the educational life of the area presents a rather unique situation. They attend separate schools of an elementary nature, which have been provided them, and if they desire to attain education above the elementary level, they must attend a Negro high school in another county. They refuse to do this for the most part.

The various recreational facilities seem very limited. Adults content themselves with radios, movies which are segregated, and a very few participate in sports activities with the whites.

White lodges and other social organizations are closed to Guinea membership. Restaurants in the area refuse to serve them, but they are not discriminated against in the local hospitals; and interpersonal relations are at a minimum among the Guineas and the whites.

Chapter VII

Attitudes and Beliefs

What are the beliefs and attitudes which tend to make for and support the social inequality of the Guineas?

The beliefs of the whites and the Guineas and their attitudes, which are inferred from their actions, will be summarized in this chapter.* Previous chapter contain many examples of beliefs and attitude patterns which make for social inequality, so repetition of some degree is unavoidable. Where possible, the writer has noted the evidence which supports or refutes the beliefs held. These beliefs, regardless of how inaccurate they may be objectively, nevertheless tend to support and reinforce social differentiation in the area.

Taking precedence over all others is the prevailing belief among the whites that the Guineas "have colored blood in 'em", and to possess one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro. As was pointed out in the chapter on History and Origin, many beliefs are related by the local populace accounting for the Guineas' origin, and although widely varied in content, one common thread woven throughout each

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* It is realized that attitudes cannot be precisely inferred from overt action but insofar as they can be, the writer has attempted to do so.

can be noted, viz., some Negro ancestry. Biological evidence to the contrary, such as fair skin, straight blonde hair, and blue eyes, is meaningless to the whites, who hold tenaciously to the belief that: "That drop of nigger blood never washes away."

One belief held by a great many whites centers around biological inadequacies of the Guineas. It is believed that physical disharmonies result when "the blood of different races is mixed." In Barbour County, malformation of bone structure, cleft palates, and hair lips are the major disharmonies cited by the whites as evidence to support this belief. However, hospital authorities in the area do not corroborate this "evidence".

One informant, "interested in mixed races," made available a whole collection of pamphlets and articles pertaining to "mongrelization" to support the contention that "no good can come from mixing the blood of races". Another informant, a self-styled "student of human nature", propounded an elaborate theory of "blood harmony" which also supported this notion. These publications were dated in the mid 1920's, and published by the State of Virginia.

The beliefs that physical disharmonies result from "mixing blood" seem perpetuated to discourage "tainting white with colored blood". "Tainting the blood" has acquired fearful connotations which tend to reassure or

"protect" the whites from "getting colored blood in 'em". For a white to marry a Guinea, then, is looked upon as "marrying colored" and results in a very low status for the individual, i. e., "Marry a Guinea, and you become a Guinea".

There is a belief that Guinea women are sexually promiscuous. "There sure are a lot of Guinea kids running around them hills that don't look anything like their real old man.....you know how it is when a bunch of boys get together and get to drinking; first thing you know they roam up into the hills and start messing around with those Guinea girls and you got a lot of white lookin kids runnin' around." These are "typical" remarks one hears among white informants. The prevailing belief among whites seems to be that the men who participate in these illicit relationships are just being "a little reckless" and their behavior is generally dismissed with "boys will be boys". This serves a very real function in that it keeps the flow of genes going in one direction; the Guineas receive the white genes but the whites are thus assured that they are not being "polluted with colored blood".

There exists a strong belief among many whites that the Guineas are criminally disposed. This too is largely attributed to their "mixed blood"; that is, "the worst characteristics of both races pop up in 'em". They are, according to white informants "nefarious chicken theives",

and "are always in trouble over moonshining." They also believe the Guinea to be given over to acts of violence among themselves, such as "cuttin', shootin', and fightin'".

Many stories and legends have arisen and are widely circulated among whites which tend to reinforce these beliefs; however, law enforcement officers indicated that criminality is no more prevalent among the Guineas than among anyone else.

In speaking of personal characteristics of the Guineas, most informants seemed to believe that they are "lazy", "triflin'", and "they'd walk ten mile to steal a chicken rather than work half a day." The general feeling is that "they want only to be on relief," and they are invariably spoken of as "a burden on the county".

It is a common belief that the "general run of Guineas are dumb." Many whites seem to believe that since they are so mentally incapable that it is indeed a waste of taxpayers' money even to attempt to educate them. The Guineas may very well appear mentally inferior to the whites because of their reluctance to attend colored schools, thereby limiting their formal education to the lower levels of public education. However, most whites contend that this apparent display of "ignorance" by so many Guineas is not due to lack of education per se; ra-

ther, they tend to speak of it as if it were an inherent trait of these people. Measurable techniques, such as IQ tests, to ascertain the mental capabilities of the Guineas were not within the scope of this study, but in light of present day scientifically valid findings concerning differences in intelligence, there is no valid reason to believe that the Guineas are in any way mentally inferior to any other group.

As pointed out in an earlier chapter, the physical characteristics of the Guineas are so "near white" that surnames have become the primary criterion by which they are identified. Since surnames alone seem to constitute the "last word" in establishing identification, there exists an ever present suspicion among whites that the Guineas "....would do just about anything to get rid of their family name". The whites firmly believe that many Guinea girls "...would marry just about anybody with a different name even if the person is the very lowest white trash." According to most informants not a few of these girls leave the area for the express purpose of, "getting a man...then slip back here --isolate themselves, and try to send their kids to white schools under the new name." Moreover, many whites seem to believe that the males who elect to remain in the area are prone to altering the

spelling of their family names. The varieties in spelling the same names is pointed to as evidence of this practice. For example, persons with the surname "Male" can be found registered in different sections of the same county record books under the names, "Mayle", "Mayles", and "Maylee". It seems doubtful that this apparent name changing has been as deliberate as the whites in the area believe. Too many Guineas with whom the writer conversed were unable to spell their name when requested it. The county clerks in the area reported similar experiences.

Some whites considered the Guineas as, "no 'counts" and "a good for nothin' set..." who represent, "...a thorn in the side of the county!" To them, the Guineas are a real social problem, but evidence of any concerted action to ameliorate or obliterate the "problem" is lacking. Rather, those expressing opinions of this nature seem to think that the problem will someday be solved by migration of the Guineas to other sections of the state or other states. This notion of a "solution" to the problem appears to have been entertained especially since World War II, when many Guineas did migrate to industrial areas. The remarks of one prominent woman in Philippi may be taken as typical of those who hold to such notions: "I hate to think of war, but one way to get rid of these people would be to have another big one -- or this one con-

tinue; then maybe they'd all move out of here!"

The above mentioned beliefs are by no means the only ones to be found among the whites, but rather represent the dominant prevailing beliefs held by them in the area. As could be expected, individual differences in opinions and beliefs were largely of degree rather than kind. There were people in the area who considered the Guineas as little more than a source of humorous, colorful stories, but even many of the "stories" in many cases harbored attitudes that the Guineas are ignorant, stupid, treacherous, and given to acts of violence.

The restricted participation elaborated upon in the chapter on social participation and the foregoing beliefs and attitudes of the whites toward the Guineas can be seen by the reader as being rather consistent with the behavior patterns which largely characterize Negro-white relations which prevail below the Mason-Dixon line in the United States.[35] Occupational opportunities are restricted for the Guineas; they have churches separate from the whites (and are denied membership in any white church); they have

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35. Myrdal, Gunnar, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

separate schools; restaurants refuse to serve them; and they are segregated in local movies. However, in spite of this consistency of attitudes which make for social differentiation, there are exceptions to the usual patterns which can be noted.

One such exception concerns participation in sports activities. It will be recalled that several Guinea boys have been permitted, or, more accurately, because of their ability, encouraged to play on local baseball teams. In light of the present day trend of non-discrimination in sports throughout the country this does not appear too striking except for one thing -- these ball players ostensibly have "free run of the town." They eat in all restaurants, and are to be seen in the company of white boys. There is, however, a limit to their "freedom" beyond which it is impossible for them to pass: the sex line. A case in point is the catcher for the local ball club, who is seemingly popular in every respect of the word. The waitresses in the tavern where the writer was employed were very friendly with this boy and were often seen spending their rest periods conversing with him. On one occasion a waitress suddenly left the presence of this individual and angrily remarked to the writer: "Do you know what? That god damn-

ed nigger just asked me for a date!" Others remarked about the handsomeness of this particular individual, but would not consider being seen with him on dates.

Another exception concerns the hospitals in the area, where a policy of racial "non-discrimination" is strictly adhered to.

There seems to be a glaring inconsistency of attitudes in general toward the Guineas in the two different counties in which they are located. In Taylor County, no "white trade only" signs are to be found anywhere, and people in general seem to be less concerned about keeping the Guinea in a "colored" status position. Even the Guineas when speaking about the two counties have remarked to the writer that: "...in Taylor County things are different." These differences may be exemplified in a comparison of the two county school systems. As was noted in a preceding chapter, the policies of these two school systems differ widely. In Barbour County every effort has been made to keep the Guineas and their schools classified as "colored", while almost the reverse holds true for Taylor County. In Barbour, Guinea children are never permitted to attend white schools and all efforts on their part to do so have resulted in legal battles and subsequent defeat in court decisions for them. On the other hand, some Guinea children are to be found at present attending

white schools in Taylor County without apparent resistance from anyone.

The policies of the newspapers in these counties also are quite different. The papers in Barbour County refer to the Guineas in all news stories as "colored" and print little other than crime news about them. Moreover, one of the editorial staff of the main weekly in this county reported that: "...pictures of the Guineas never appear in our papers -- People wouldn't stand for it around here." In Taylor County the daily and weekly newspapers "avoid" using the term "colored" in any story referring to Guineas and state their policy as being one that: "...gives them as much news coverage as anyone else." At the time the writer was visiting Grafton (Taylor County), a front page story was being published concerning two "Mayles" brothers who had saved two other boys from drowning. The daily newspaper had initiated "..a fund for a rescue boat for the Grafton Fire Department to be named the 'Darl and Dayton Mayles'",[36] and had suggested to the city council that these boys be nominated for the Carnegie Heroism Award. The policy of newspapers in Taylor County may not appear to be too significant at the present but may be well considered thus in the future. Newspapers are instrumental

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36. Grafton Sentinel, July 25, 1951, Vol. 49, p. 1.

in not only forming the opinions and attitudes of many people, but reinforcing the opinions and attitudes they may already hold. By avoiding the use of "colored" to designate the Guineas, and by publishing stories other than just crime news about them, Taylor County newspapers do not keep alive in the minds of their readers a distinction between the Guineas and anyone else in the area.

Let us now turn to a consideration of Guinea attitudes and opinions. The very nature of this study accounts for a paucity of information about the attitudes and beliefs of these people, and for this reason their attitudes can only be inferred from what information was made available by informants who are intimately acquainted with them, and from the action or reaction of Guineas to specific situations. Furthermore, when contact with Guineas was established by the writer many were very reticent in expressing opinions regarding any subject.

The whole question of Guinea attitudes, of course, focuses upon their reaction to being relegated to colored status by the white society. The majority of Guineas have resisted the efforts of the whites to relegate them to this status. Just prior to World War II they seemed to possess a degree of group consciousness which to a large extent accounted for a certain amount of organized resistance. They had their own annual Fair, an active lodge, and, more important, a council which was powerful enough to exert

adequate political pressure to obtain electrification and improved roads in their area. This council was also exerting pressure to improve the lot of the Guinea school children by openly protesting the crowded conditions which existed in their schools. However, despite its apparent efficiency, this council was dissolved in the latter part of 1941. The president, a "light mulatto", had been working on a project concerning farm rehabilitation in conjunction with the State Bureau of Negro Welfare. He was requested by the agency to submit a list of the farmers whom he represented and during subsequent correspondence this agency referred to these farmers as "Negro". When the Guineas learned of this they became enraged and openly campaigned to resist all efforts by anyone to relegate them to colored status. This campaign culminated in a refusal to send their children to colored schools and the subsequent burning of two of these schools. As will be recalled from the chapter on Social Participation, many Guineas were arrested because of this "strike" and the ensuing legal battle saw them lose to the school board their bid for equal status.

Since that time all overt signs of we-feelings seem to have diminished; the Fair has been discontinued, lodge activities have all but completely ceased, and all signs of organized resistance to colored status among Guineas

among Guineas seems for the present to have disappeared.

Despite the fact that there is no obvious evidence of organized resistance extant in the area, and despite the fact that they have been legally classified as "colored", they nevertheless continue to register as "white" at courthouses and wherever else the classification of "race" is required. Courthouse records reveal that in the decade following 1900, only five per cent of the Guinea births were recorded as white. This percentage has markedly increased in the ensuing decades, until in the past decade forty-three per cent of the Guinea births were recorded as "white". At a hospital in Barbour County a Guinea girl sued a doctor who recorded her child's birth certificate as "colored". This girl had become pregnant at Canton, Ohio but had returned to the home of her parents to have the child. She protested that she was considered "white" in Canton and that the father: "...is as white as anyone." When the case was reviewed in court the doctor emerged victorious, but has since changed his policy of recording race by recording whatever the mother requests.

The county clerks and selective service officials also reported that they record "race" only according to what the registrants request. Today eighty-eight per cent of the Guineas registered for the draft in Barbour County are recorded as "white", and there is no effort on the part

of officials to chagge these records.

Very few Guineas expressed their opinions about their situation, but most of those who did seemed resentful of their status. On several occasions when the writer was in a position to openly broach the question of race, the Guinea informants would reply, "What do you think my race is?", or "What do I look like?" or, as one sullenly remarked, "Can't you see?" One woman bitterly remarked: "Do I look colored and do my children have kinky hair? No Sir! My kids is white and so am I, but around here these folks calls us colored! Whenever I go anywhere else, Ohio, or even Clarksburg I feel as free as a bird 'cause I can go in any store or restaurant I please and don't nobody stop me! These folks around here is plain crazy!" Another Guinea, who had served in the army remarked: "What gits me is I lost some of my blood in foreign lands for these folks around here and when I git back they don't 'low me in their damned restaurants -- no by Gawd, I can't even git served anywhere around these parts!"

On the other hand, some Guineas seem to have passively accepted colored status. They attend the African Methodist church, send their children to the colored 4-H camp, seem on friendly terms with the few Negroes in the area, and occasionally will marry them. These people, a definite minority, would, when asked about their race, some-

what indifferently reply, "Colored", or "Colored, I reckon." However, even these Guineas never mentioned the term "Negro", which according to a Negro who had married one, they resent. This same individual pointed out that to refer to them as "Negroes", "....is resented every bit as much as a Negro resents the word 'nigger'".

Only one family was encountered in the area who reacted to colored status by maintaining that they are of Indian ancestry. It has already been pointed out to what extent these people have attempted to prove their Indian background in the chapter on History and Origin. Thus far only one member of this family has successfully won separate Indian status for himself.

In considering the total situation then, it appears that, with the few exceptions noted in the above paragraphs, the essence of Guinea attitudes toward the whites in the area is, if not resentment, at least covert defiance.

The writer was unable to obtain any information about Guinea attitudes toward Negroes, and so very few Negroes were contacted during the course of the writer's stay in the area that it hardly seems valid to even infer their attitudes toward the Guineas. About all that can be stated is that friendly relations seem to exist between these people wherever they were observed in contact, and those Negroes with whom the writer conversed expressed a certain

amount of sympathy for the Guineas and appreciation of their situation. One Canton, Ohio, Negro woman who made frequent trips to that part of West Virginia, remarked to the writer: "When I first started visiting here I used to get tickled at these people because they seemed so mixed up and didn't know what they were, but now I kinda feel sorry for them. In Canton they pass as whites, but here they can't get in restaurants or nothin'.....I just can't figure all this out because it isn't that way in Ohio." Others simply summed it up with: "I feel sorry for 'em."

In summarizing: the attitudes and opinions of both whites and Guineas were considered. It was pointed out that the white belief that "one drop of Negro blood makes a Negro" seems to be the primary one upon which social differentiation is based. Closely allied to, and quite possibly evolving from this belief, are those concerning biological inadequacies among "mixed bloods" perpetuated it would seem, to discourage any thought of intermarriage. Guinea women are believed by whites to be sexually promiscuous. Also, the whites believe that most Guineas are criminally disposed, lazy, and unintelligent, but objective data fail to corroborate most of these beliefs.

Although white attitudes and the patterns of social differentiation in the area inhabited by the Guineas ap-

pear to parallel those of the South in general, certain inconsistencies can be noted. These concern participation in sports activities, non-discriminatory policies in hospitals, and certain inconsistencies in the treatment of Guineas in different areas.

Guinea beliefs and attitudes were treated in the light of their reaction to being relegated to "colored" status by the white society. Few beliefs or opinions were obtained from them and their attitudes were largely treated in a historical frame of reference. Evidence that organized resistance to colored status once existed is revealed in their activities prior to World War II when the Guineas openly resisted colored classification of their schools. Despite the fact that they have been legally classified as colored, the majority of them still strive to achieve white identification and status.

On the whole, the majority of Guineas seem to resent their position in the community, while a few have passively accepted colored status, and one family in particular has attempted to be identified as Indian.

Chapter VIII

Summary and Conclusions

This field study represents an observation and description of a group of people called "Guineas", who are considered by the society of the area they inhabit to have sprung from a background of Negro-white, and possibly Indian, crosses. By virtue of this alleged biological heritage these people are classified as "colored" and subjected to differential treatment.

These people are located in a rural mountainous area of northeastern West Virginia, where the patterns of race relations are similar to those of the South.

An attempt was made to investigate all possible material pertaining to the origin and historical background of these people. Very little has been written about them in local history books, making it necessary to obtain this information from county records and word-of-mouth "theories" from both Guineas and whites. Lack of uniformity and authenticity of all sources keep the background and origin of these people veiled in obscurity. However, one common thread of thought was found woven throughout all source material: The Guineas are considered of mixed racial origin and seem to have migrated

to the area which they now inhabit from Hampshire County, Virginia, around the turn of the Nineteenth Century.

With few exceptions, the greatest majority of Guineas manifest physical features which conform to those commonly attributed to the "white race" or Caucasaoids. Many have very fair skin, blue eyes, straight blonde and light brown hair, to mention but a few of these features.

In the case of the Guineas, therefore, physical characteristics represent by no means an infallible criterion by which they can be identified. Since they are accorded unequal social participation by a society who considers them "colored", it became necessary to discover just what criterion was utilized in identifying the Guineas. Subsequent investigation revealed this criterion to be simply a matter of identifying certain persons as Guineas by virtue of the surname. The persons thus identified as Guineas in the area in which this study was conducted may possess any one of the following names: Adams, Collins, Croston, Culberson, Dalton, Dorton, Dolton, Kennedy, Mayle, Minard, Newman, Norris, Parsons, or Prichard. It was found, therefore, that "colored" status is accorded the Guineas on the basis of a social definition of race, rather than one based upon biological facts.

Observations were made of the social participation of Guineas both within their own group and in the social life

of the whole area. These observations reveal that the economic life of the Guineas has traditionally been a rural one characterized by sub-marginal farming. Some of those who do not attempt to maintain themselves by farming can be found working in some of the local coal mines, while others are employed by the local whites to perform menial tasks. There are indications that many Guineas are not actively engaged in any occupation, their sole support coming from public assistance agencies. Job opportunities of a fairly limited nature for the Guineas in the area where they are located; none are to be found in the professions, commercial enterprises, or positions of responsibility in the white community. However, with the advent of World War II came a new development in the occupational status of the Guineas. Many of them migrated away from their traditional means of making a living and entered industrial occupations in Ohio as defense workers.

The standard of living of Guineas was generally found to be lower than that of the white society. Their houses were generally in more need of repair and, on the average, inferior to those of the whites in the area.

The religious life of these people is restricted to their own churches, which are all Protestant. Several denominations are prepresented among them but the Methodists seem to be the strongest.

The educational life of the Guineas has been shown to

create some unique problems for the local school officials. The county school systems are bi-racial, and since Guineas are considered to be colored, they are not permitted to attend the white schools. On the other hand, they refuse to attend the Negro schools with the result that the county officials attempted to solve this dilemma by providing separate schools for them. In Barbour County these schools are classified as "colored" by the school board; therefore, in accordance with state law "colored persons" are hired as teachers. The Guineas resent having Negro teachers and overtly expressed their resentment in 1941 by keeping their children at home. Subsequent legal encounters saw the school board emerge victorious in each case so that today the Guinea schools are still classified as "colored" in Barbour County. Further friction is avoided by hiring, whenever possible, mulattoes for teaching positions. In Taylor County, separate schools are maintained for the Guinea children, but they are so located that, "...colored classification is not deemed necessary."

Recreational facilities are limited for Guineas; some movie theatres permit their attendance but seat them separately from other patrons; sports activities are closed to Guineas, except for those who have developed exceptional ability; playgrounds are conspicuous by their absence

even on their school grounds; and with the exception of one, even pool rooms do not cater to them. White lodges and similar social organizations are closed to Guinea membership; they are barred from entering most local eating places. Dating between Guineas and whites is frowned upon by society and consequently there is very little intermarriage.

Considering the social participation of the Guineas *in toto*, we find patterns of restricted social relations very similar to those which prevail in the South between Negroes and whites.

The beliefs and attitudes of the whites toward the Guineas only serve to demonstrate all the more such similarities as mentioned above. For example, the social definition of race which seems perpetuated by whites to justify the differential treatment accorded Guineas is one commonly resorted to in the South, and for that matter, throughout the country. Expressed in the words of a white informant, this definition is simply: "....One drop of nigger blood and you're a nigger, and like they say, 'that drop of blood never washes away!" Largely on the basis of this definition many myths and beliefs, which reflect local attitudinal patterns, have sprung up and become a part of the social heritage -- expressed by young and old alike. Prominent among these beliefs are those concern-

ing biological disharmonies which result from miscegenation. It is believed, for example, that when "blood is mixed" the results can only be negative, that malformation of the off-spring is an inevitable result. Certain physical disharmonies among Guineas were often referred to by white informants, but subsequent observation and investigation failed to corroborate such disharmonies.

Associated with beliefs about biological disharmonies are those which concern the personality traits of hybrids. In effect these beliefs center only on "bad characteristics" which supposedly manifest themselves in the personality of the hybrid person; that is, "...the worst traits of both races pop-up in the children." By virtue of this "fact", the morals of the Guineas are asserted by whites to be "very low"; Guinea women are believed to be sexually promiscuous, and Guineas in general are believed to be criminally disposed, lazy, and "dumb".

It would appear that many of these beliefs held by the whites function to discourage miscegenation and thereby prevent "taintin' white blood". They seem to serve the purpose of keeping the Guineas set apart from the remainder of the society, which, in turn, justifies the differential treatment to which they are subjected.

Using Berry's[37] fourfold classification of patterns of reaction to dominance we can note aspects of each being manifested in the Guineas' reaction to white dominance, and pointing up some significant trends. We find that by virtue of a mountainous natural setting the Guineas at one time could avoid contact with white society. The mountains afforded them such a degree of isolation that essentially they were impervious to any status position accorded them by society. However, improved transportation and communication, largely brought about by New Deal projects (WPA etc.) have played a tremendous role in making it all the more difficult for them to avoid contact with the dominant society. The organization of a political council of sorts by Guineas in the late 1930's points up a growing awareness among them that theirs was no longer a life of self-sufficiency and social isolation.

Once isolation was broken down and avoidance on the group level became practically impossible, the Guineas' reaction to dominance manifested itself in aggressive tendencies. The highlight of these aggressive tendencies was expressed in their organized resistance to the colored

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37. Berry, Brewton, Race Relations, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951, pp. 414-437; Acceptance, avoidance, aggression, assimilation.

classification of their schools, which culminated in the burning of two of their school buildings in 1941.

Upon investigation it appears that the burning of these schools represents the only overt manifestation of organized aggression by Guineas to their subordinate social status position. They seem never to have been sufficiently organized for any such action before their council came into existence; and following the legal affrays with the school board, signs of organization disappeared when this council ceased to function. In fact, after the Guineas were legally classified "colored" as a result of the schools incident, all signs of organization with their group seemed to cease. As will be recalled from preceding chapters, lodge activities diminished to the point of inactivity, and their annual Fair went out of existence.

Such signs of inactivity as the foregoing may suggest that once having been legally classified as "colored" in the area, the Guineas accepted and accommodated to such a status position. There is evidence that some Guineas did just that; they remained in the area, still attend the African Methodist church, send their children to the Negro high school, and often assume complete identification with Negroes by marrying them.

Guineas who have accomodated by accepting colored status, however, are in a definite numerical minority. The majority of these people continue to make every effort to assimilate with the dominant society. They broke away from the African Methodist church in favor of denominations which are more closely identified with whites -- or at least are less likely to be identified as Negro. Many seem to prefer having their children receive only an elementary education rather than send them to a Negro high school; others send their children to white schools in other counties where they are "unknown"; still others educate their children via correspondence courses. Also, the Guineas persist in registering as white whenever the occasion presents itself. They continue to register "white" in Selective Service, county records, various licenses, etc.

These persistent efforts of Guineas to assimilate with the dominant society have not been in vain. In one area (Taylor County) they are less often referred to as "colored" by the local citizens; newspapers have ceased referring to them in news stories as "colored"; "white trade only" signs have come down; their schools are no longer classified as "colored", and in 1951, a white principal was appointed to their largest elementary school. Moreover, some Guinea students are presently attending

the white school (high school) at Grafton, without apparent protest from anyone.

Efforts to assimilate in Barbour county have been far less successful for the Guineas. In fact, the only gains they seem to have made there concern their registering as whites on various records. The local and county functionaries have for the most part ceased resisting Guinea efforts to register as whites. Since birth records have been of especial significance in settling disputes involving race classification of these people, this present tendency to register them as white may prove significant in future years.

In view of the fact that Guineas have been legally classified as "colored" in Barbour County, attaining complete assimilation there promises to be a long, drawn-out process for them. That many Guineas seem aware of this is indicated in a trend toward migration to areas where assimilation with whites is complete. As will be recalled from previous chapters, migration reached its peak during World War II when many Guineas left their homes to become defense workers in the industrial areas of Ohio. After the war, many migrants remained in these areas. A check of 1950 city directories of four cities, most frequently mentioned in West Virginia as areas receiving Guinea migrants, reveals that in Zanesville, O-

hio, there are 203 persons with surnames commonly identified as "Guineas" in West Virginia. The Canton, Ohio directory shows the next highest frequency of Guinea names with a total of 168. The Warren, Ohio directory contains 75 such names, and Chillicothe has 42. Although it is not within the scope of this study to visit each of these cities, interviews with both whites and Guineas in West Virginia leave little doubt that those who migrate to Ohio are accepted as whites, Thus, the Guineas do have an avenue of escape from the oppression of differential status in West Virginia, and many young ones are apparently taking advantage of it. The writer even conversed with children in elementary schools who expressed a desire to eventually "git work" in Ohio.

In view of the colored status and discrimination in West Virginia, it is puzzling why some Guineas returned to settle there after having enjoyed white status in Ohio. We can only tentatively hypothesize that kinship ties (which are generally strong among "hill people"), sentimental ties with the hill country itself, possibly a distaste for the complexity and pace of life associated with urban areas, or a combination of all three, account for this behavior.

In the final analysis it would appear that complete

assimilation of the Guineas will come about at a faster pace only through migration of these people to areas where they are fully accorded white status. If complete assimilation is to occur in West Virginia, (especially Barbour County) it may be stated with some assurance that it will be a long term process.

In concluding, the writer is aware of the limitations of this study. Many points raised herein suggest further research. To mention a few:

1. The differential treatment accorded Guineas, despite the fact that most of them have white physical features, suggests studies of the function of segregation. The differences in the policies of segregation of two counties side-by-side, suggest that factors other than presumed racial differences are operating to perpetuate this differential treatment.

2. The differences in rate and degree of assimilation in these counties suggestsaa more detailed study of this phenoménon.

3. Closely allied with the study of assimilation is the excellent opportunity to study the socio-psychological aspects of "passing" among those Guineas who migrate to Ohio.

4. Studies of a more quantitative nature could be made of the many facets of white-Guinea attitudes.

5. The trend toward migration to Ohio suggests studies of this phenomenon and the problems associated with it.

6. The very nature of this paper suggests studies in prejudice and its ramifications.

It is the desire of the writer, of course, someday to be in a better position to expand on this study and its ramifications.

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MAP I
OF
BARBOUR COUNTY
SHOWING
TOPOGRAPHY

WEST VIRGINIA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY
I. C. WHITE, STATE GEOLOGIST

BASE MAP FROM U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY SHEETS SURVEYED IN CO-OPERATION
WITH WEST VIRGINIA GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

1918